CONGRESS AND YOUR POCKETBOOK: A 1950 PREVIEW . . . P. 3

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MAX WERNER PREDICTS

Crisis in '50 —but no war

IT WAS the main achievement of 1949 that the absurd war scare receded for a very long time.

Realistically viewed for the coming year, and even the coming decade, war is a military impossibility. Ignorance about simple military facts is frighteningly rampant. Yet so much must be clear: the military anatomy of the U. S., the structure of our fighting forces, excludes war. With two armored divisions we cannot give any military guarantee to our allies. With about 2% of our wartime high in plane production we cannot pretend to have air control over Europe.

In the late '30's, it was said that Japan's military strength was like a strong fist moved by weak muscles: the fighting forces, though able and ready to strike, were supported by a completely inadequate industry. Our case is just the reverse: tremendously strong muscles with a weak fist. With the exception of the atomic bomb and the navy, the U. S. military machine is obviously underdeveloped.

SOVIETS WON'T: Meanwhile Soviet reconstruction plans are fixed, running at least till 1960. From Moscow to the far east big industrial projects are being carried out. The Soviet government will not expose its young, unfinished industry to atomic destruction, nor endanger its economy by the strain of a protracted war.

Russian military science states that a new world war would be very long and immensely destructive. Ten weeks ago Gen. Omar N. Bradley said the same thing in an important article.

We know that in the stormy 1946-49 period, though no U. S. guarantee to western Europe was yet given, not the slightest Soviet military move was undertaken. The West's defenselessness provoked no Soviet aggression because no aggression was intended; and it will not be any paper guarantee which will keep the peace in the coming decade.

WE CAN'T: Today in the U. S., Britain and France, military experts are doing serious research about the technological, strategic and political implications of modern war. Their first conclusion is that the risks and cost of modern war go beyond imagination. Their second conclusion is that western Europe cannot wage war.

What follows is that the Atlantic Pact is only the shadow of a fiction. The U. S. has no real military allies, but only objects for protection.

The usual argument for the Atlantic Pact runs that if it brings no real military aid, at least it offers some political bolstering, a moral shot in the arm. With this kind of support, it is being conceded that the Pact has almost no military substance. In spite of all strong military words used, discussed are only psychological sedatives and tonics.

SLOW WAR OUTDATED: Our own strategic contradictions add to the confusion. The U. S. concept of war is still that of slow-moving, gradually-developed material superiority, as was done in the war against Germany and Japan.

It took just two and a half years from Pearl Harbor to the landing in Normandy. At that time the U. S. had the Soviet Union as its ally and Britain as a secure base. Now we can count on neither of them. Yet the atomic bomb has been capped on the U. S. concept of the slow war of logistics, and the A-bomb demands lightning war. It would be absurd to wage a long atomic war for which nobody would have enough resources or nerves.

Yet here the second contradiction enters: between the A-bomb and the Atlantic Pact strategy. The western European allies cannot be helped either by the slow war of supply, nor by the gambling attempt of the atomic blitz. What they ask for is an American land blitz, a defense by an overwhelming U. S. land power delivered immediately.

This they cannot have, and we cannot offer.

STOP THE EMPTY TALK: 1949 was a year of atomic disillusionment and atomic frustration. Yet there are only two alternatives to the atomic bomb. One is military: an American mass land army, nothing else and nothing less. The other is a political international settlement, active and constructive peace policy.

It looks as if we will have neither. The coming decade therefore will be an era of crisis without war. If a real international peace settlement is unlikely, at least a strong peace hygiene is possible. This demands that the fiction of impending war which poisons our politics be removed.

The talking war has already brought untold damage to our diplomacy. The cold war goes beyond our military abilities and the political endurance of western Europe.

The series of imaginary wars our public opinion fought between 1946-49 will be stopped in 1950.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Should he go back where he came from?

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Good things happened too

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THE MAILBAG

The voice of America

WHITTIER, CALIF.

I am now past 88, born in Iowa in 1861, a GOP before I was born. Left an orphan at the age of 3 in western Nebraska among the Indians. With my mother I roamed many thousands of miles on the deck of the Tex pony over the South and West and up the Chisholm trail, up Kansas and Nebraska before there was an Oklahoma. I learned while yet a youth the full foundation of what later was called socialism, and its greatest enemy capitalism.

Raised a family of five, witnessed the terrible struggle they all went through under Hoover, and I hate to hear of him being allowed to finger around us laborers' money up in Washington. I am now huddled among my children. I am keen to do all I can to yet see this evil of all mankind overthrown before I must leave my kin. In the name of humanity I plead you do your best.

W. G. Willis

•

Wallace's speeches

PORTLAND, ORE.

I just wanted to stick in my two-bits in behalf of Henry Wallace's speeches as they have been appearing in the GUARDIAN. I believe the unifying and mobilizing effect of his information on progressives of all complexions cannot be overstressed. All the acquaintances I have who have progressive ideals are actually starving for information about Mr. Wallace, and for the leadership which he represents.

The P. P. here in Portland is still functioning and is throwing its weight around quite considerably on the issues of rent control, deportations, and civil rights ordinances.

Eugene D. Butler

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Dissipated energy

MIAMI, FLA.

I was tremendously interested in A. G. Mezerik's' article "How We Could Move Mountains and Change America" (Nov. 18). May I quote from "A Pattern for Future Society" by Shogi Effendi, guardian of the Baha'i world faith:

"The enormous energy dissipated and wasted on war, whether economic or political, will be consecrated to such ends as will extend the range of human inventions and technical development . . . to the exploitation of the unused and unsuspected resources of the planet. . ."

Patricia Alexander

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Town & country

TRENTON, N. J.

May I congratulate the editorial staff of your newsweekly for the fine articles on farm questions which have appeared in recent issues. It is my belief that the continuance of such material will greatly enhance the value of the GUARDIAN and make it even more desirable to readers living on farms or in rural areas.

There is also a great need to inform town and city dwellers of the problems that face farmers, and how closely allied the interests of these segments of the population actually are.

Frances Leber, Editor
Eastern Union Farmer

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For better Americans

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I am a retired janitor 74 years old and living on $75 a month pension—a hard trick, believe me. In the last 30 years I have used my hard-earned money to distribute over a million reprints to help Americans to think straight and live right.

My aim in life is to help make civilization more civilized and humanity more human and humane. Better Americans will make America better. I think you are that kind of Americans.

Joseph Schaffer
526 West E. St.

•

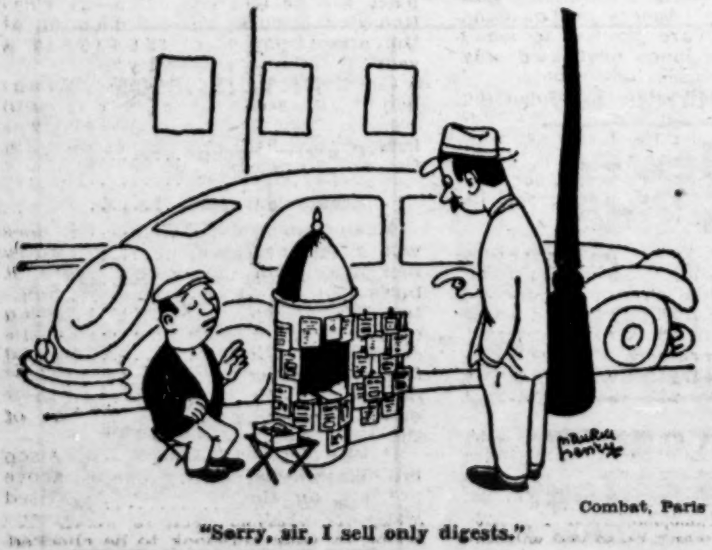
The lawyers too

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Your account of the successful fight for freedom won by Lester Tate in Los Angeles credited—and rightly—the wide coalition of union, employer and progressive organizations who banded together to work for his release.

However, you overlooked the fact that the fight for Tate's freedom was spearheaded by hard-working progressive lawyers whose only reward in similar cases is the possibility of public recognition for their efforts. In view of the small number of capable lawyers who are willing to devote their time and talents to such cases with no expectation of an adequate fee, they should receive at least equal credit.

Marion Sternbach



Combat, Paris

"Sorry, sir, I sell only digests."

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Up from Hiroshima

PARIS, FRANCE

This morning my wife and I saw an atomic pile in action and watched while our guide manipulated the controls which varied her output. We asked questions. We looked up at charts on her heavy grey slab sides that showed how her insides ticked.

I say "her" because she is called Zoe, and Zoe can only be a girl. She is at the laboratories of the Commissariat of Atomic Energy at the Fort de Chatillon, in the outskirts of Paris.

We saw the open notebooks, the mysterious maze of glass tubes and labyrinthine machines that only scientists seem to understand. We were told how atomic power could do man good.

Our attention began to wander over the vacant desks. A vase of flowers over one, a picture of a seaside town. But most frequently a picture of Joliot-Curie in postcard size, and underneath the simple inscription: "If tomorrow we are asked to work for war, to make an atomic bomb, we shall answer NO!"

We left Chatillon with a feeling we had not known since Hiroshima. We felt that atoms were a friend of man, that they could help heal his sicknesses, help relieve his work.

Harry Fugl

•

Live up to the claim

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

In order to show the rest of the world that we have the best form of government we should demonstrate our claim to democracy by enforcing the 14th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution, which guarantee full citizenship rights to all citizens, be they rich or poor, black or white. We should also provide legislation approved by the majority by establishing official government public opinion polls. Then congressmen who voted contrary to the known desires of their constituents could be exposed and promptly recalled.

John H. Young

•

Kick-backs and probes

EASTON, PA.

The conviction of Republican Congressman J. Parnell Thomas should cause jubiliation to no one. He is not unique.

But something can be learned from his dismal career. Perhaps now we should be able to see the House Un-American Committee in a more realistic perspective. Thomas dominated this committee during its most notorious phase when it put on the rack scores of citizens whose most glaring sin was dissent from the Thomas conception of Americanism. These were the people who believed in peace, in normal relations with the Soviet Union, in honest movies, in keeping America out of messy deals with fascist jackals like Franco, in using atomic energy for human welfare instead of mass slaughter of civilians, in being calm and decent and rational about life in general.

What can the Congress do to make amends to the victims of this man? At the very least its first duty is to revoke every citation for contempt instigated by the Un-American Committee under the chairmanship of Thomas.

It is to be feared that this committee cannot now expect to enjoy a wholesome reputation. It would be well then for Congress to abolish it for the sake of good order in our land.

James C. Lipsett

The above letter, which appeared in the Easton (Pa.) Express was sent in by Mrs. B. J. Adamson of Easton. Ed.

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Didn't cost a cent

ELMHURST, N. Y.

My fellow GUARDIAN readers outside of New York probably have read that our mayor upped his pay envelope $15,000 per year plus fat raises for his top brass. But what you may not know is that this raise did not cost our fair city a penny extra. The city has cut the relief checks for the needy, aged and blind. The mayor needs more money to meet his cost of living, but these unfortunate folks can starve as well on less.

Jerry Adler

Report to Readers

No unity without mutual tolerance

By Cedric Belfrage

The World Spirit is not in a hurry. World history is progress in the consciousness of freedom. When the great Individuality in a great tragedy has destroyed itself, there is nothing left but the Chorus. Now the Chorus makes its appearance and begins to act its part. The command given by the World Spirit is: Let the Masses go forward!

—Hegel

ON THIS last-but-one day of 1949 the postman has brought me a copy of **The Last Optimist**, autobiography of that great socialist Alvarez del Vayo (former Foreign Minister of Republican Spain), and a letter from a GUARDIAN reader in a small New England community.

The reader, after praising an old book of mine written when I had not yet actively chosen political sides, writes: "Please take my name from the GUARDIAN mailing list at once. You see, I live in a rather typical small New England town made up of good folks who not long ago put many well-meaning souls to death for witchcraft. Times have changed a lot, but many of the people unfortunately have not. I have no desire to spend the little life I have left being ridden out on a rail by well-meaning nitwits."

THE quotation at the head of this column is the one chosen by del Vayo to keynote his book. The book's title is a pleasant piece of irony. Del Vayo is an optimist, at this and every New Year's while he lives, because—unlike our New England reader—he knows the people must win everywhere in spite of witch-hunting nitwits.

There are millions more optimists like him, and life would simply cease to interest him if he did not continue working with them for the good life that is within reach of all. Rather than stop trying, he would prefer to be—and indeed already has been, when his great cause temporarily went down in Spain in 1939—ridden out on a rail trying. But at the end of an evening spent with him last week, del Vayo said to me: "See you in Madrid."

THERE can be no better text with which to bow in the GUARDIAN's second full calendar year of existence than the one on which del Vayo builds his life and hope: the text of working unity between all men of goodwill who can agree on common objectives for common betterment.

Writing of 1948, del Vayo says: "I was convinced that the only way to stop the march of reaction . . . was by a return to the formula of the Popular Front." The basic objective for which he wants a Popular Front is the reconquest of Spain by its people from Franco. Under del Vayo's inspiration, willingness to form such a front for that specific objective—which means burying of other hatchets for the time being between Spanish Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and others—is growing.

The same Popular Front is the one and only formula to give strength to progressive America. The problem may be more difficult for us than for the Spaniards. However difficult, it is necessary. Since it is necessary, we should start thinking seriously about what it involves.

IT IS to nobody's advantage but our enemies' that progressive Americans be split into factions over issues which are not primary to the goal of peace and abundance in America.

Since there are many things about which progressive Americans disagree, the strength that comes from unity is possible only if **everyone**—repeat everyone—who wants to work for peace and abundance will bury subsidiary hatchets in that cause. And it must be added that those who are most politically mature, who understand best the need for unity, have the obligation to set the example.

The Americans needed in our Popular Front are religious and non-religious, socialist and "progressive capitalist." They have views on Russia varying from total approval to criticism stopping short at any suggestion of war. Every progressive should feel free to try and persuade others to his position. None must allow these and similar differences to obstruct the united work needed now for urgent objectives: to prevent war, to promote abundance and simple justice.

The GUARDIAN has dedicated itself, and at this year's end dedicates itself still more solemnly, to the task of bringing mass America together—to work together so it may go forward. The vast majority of our readers are not scared: they are working optimists like del Vayo. Many disagree with us on many points—but stay with us because we stand for their own basic principles.

BY WAY of a pat on the back to ourselves—and them—here is an excerpt from a report on progressive America circulated throughout Europe last week by the British news agency, **Democratic and General News:**

"Most spectacular success on the printed-matter front has been the rocketing progress of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a main channel of Progressive Party policy and news. The GUARDIAN is aiming at a million readers, and will probably get them. Now truly a national paper, it is a first-class production, but its staff would be first to agree that journalistic excellence alone does not account for its triumph. The public buys because NATIONAL GUARDIAN has something to say—something they want to hear."

Hold onto your pocketbook—Congress is opening

The shape-up on Capitol Hill

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

WHEN President Truman opens the second session of the 81st Congress with his State of the Union and budget messages this week, it will be in a House decorated, soundproofed and ventilated at a cost (together with the Senate chamber remodeling) of over $3,500,000.

That is one of the minor items in your bill for Congress. Printing of the first session's 38,000,000 words in the **Congressional Record** cost you $1,850,000; a total of $62,262,110 was appropriated to run Congress through the fiscal year 1950. Altogether, the first session appropriated $46,485,957,921 of your money, plus $4,500,000,000 in contract obligations.

This year's budget is likely to be almost as high—in the neighborhood of $43,000,000,000. Senator Vandenberg (R-Mich.) has suggested cuts, but did the same last year and then went along with Truman at the showdown. The rank-and-file revolt on big money contributions to Europe may, however, be more serious than last year. Economy bloc leaders like Sens. Robertson and Byrd (D-Va.) are talking big.

THE MILITARY MELON: How will the billions be spent? Military appropriations remain basic in cutting the melon. These will probably be nearly as big as last year, which means leaving only one-fourth of the budget for the Fair Deal—on which Truman won the election and which has now become the clipped tail of a big war dog.

In this electoral year three groups—farmers, labor and Negroes—are of decisive importance to the Administration. Great majorities in all three have not yet, according to Gallup's latest poll, lost faith in the Fair Deal. "The President," wrote the Alsop brothers in their column last week, "means to present himself as the fighting champion of (these) three great voting groups . . . (who) are then expected to evince their gratitude . . . at the polls next November. And all this is to be accomplished without the passage of any legislation whatever. The President will strongly insist upon" Taft-Hartley repeal, the civil rights program and the Brannan Plan. But "nothing could upset the White House more than for the lawmakers to bow to the Presidential will at this time."

HARRY S. TRUMAN
Talks loud, acts soft

Here's how the performance seems to be shaping up now:

Labor

The split between right and left wings and CIO's all-out support for the Administration's foreign policy have made passage of any favorable labor legislation almost an impossibility. There have been definite indications that James Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer heading the dual-unionist IUE, wants parts of the Taft-Hartley Law retained to help him in a joint fight with employers against UE. Progressive forces which had planned a fight for repeal are busy fighting right-wing unionists. The discharge petition circulated on Taft-Hartley repeal by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) has less than 70 signatures. Despite the claim of AFL and CIO that they demand a $1-an-hour minimum wage, there is also no indication of action on this score.

Civil Rights

There has been much unnecessary excitement about the announcement of Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D-Ill.) that he will start off immediately to implement the President's equal rights program by pushing a Fair Employment Practices Bill in the upper house.

The gesture is so transparent that it already has been exposed even in pro-Truman newspapers. Lucas and other Administration forces joined last year in enacting a new rule on filibusters in the Senate, which makes it harder than ever to shut off debate. It used to take two-thirds of the senators present and voting. Now it takes a constitutional two-thirds, which means two-thirds of all senators—64 out of 96. There are enough reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats to keep a filibuster going indefinitely. On top of that Lucas picked the toughest bill of all to start with. Had he chosen an anti-poll-tax bill, which passed the House last year, there might have been a chance of passing it.

What happens in this sector will be carefully watched by the strategic Negro electorate. It has been pointed out that, in the key states that won the 1948 election for Truman, the Negro Democratic vote was bigger than Truman's majority in those states.

Farm

No real try at Secretary Brannan's 100% parity program, including protection for the consumer, is in prospect; but there might be a trial run on hog support prices—and maybe cattle support—under the plan. Prices are falling. There will have to be amendments to the present farm support legislation—and they may knock the bottom out of the Truman budget.

The first may be an amendment to restore the historical basis for allotting cotton acreage. The act passed in the last session, under which current rather than historic acreage is used for the basis of allocations, gives huge acreage to new cotton raisers in California and other places. Old-timers in Louisiana and Mississippi are limited to small acreage because many have used only half their total area for cotton.

Real pinch will came in supporting crops this year. The Commodity Credit Corp., which under the law must support corn and wheat prices, is broke; it will have to ask Congress for another $2,000,000,000 to carry out its obligatory program.

THE EGG AND YOU: An even worse condition is arising from the optional support crops like chickens and eggs. Poultry farmers must buy feed at prices which are supported, while at present their products are not. They will demand and probably get support prices themselves. This will take additional money.

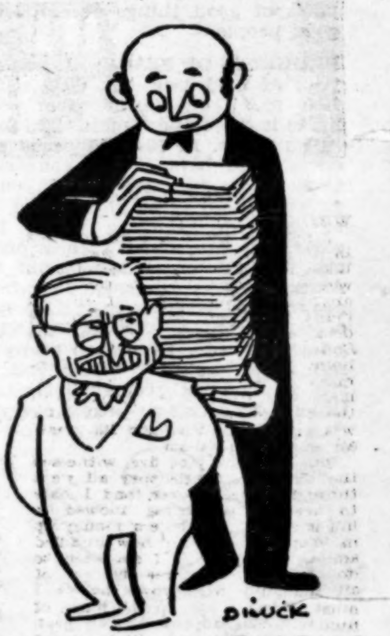
Also fruits are in dire trouble, with orange prices way down, and these prices will probably have to be supported. That means a request for an additional $4,000,000,000. Even if granted, the problem won't be solved without the Brannan Plan.

Vets, Pensions, Housing

The Marcantonio bill for extending 52-20 (unemployment benefits for GI's) seems lost, with many economy congressmen eyeing the veterans' program for cuts.

In the pensions and social security sector, action is much more likely. With corporations like Ford and U.S. Steel now obligated for pensions of a fixed amount including social security, there is real pressure from such quarters to unload as much as possible of the obligation on to the taxpayers. Indications point in the Senate to broadening amendments to the bill already passed by the House—including a $100-a-month pension for aged couples.

The national health insurance program appears hopelessly bogged down, and housing looks like a dead issue. Only apparent hope for legislation of social significance at this stage seems to be a move by Sen. James E. Murray (D-Mont.) and a group associated with him to create a new Civilian Conservation Corps., free of army control, in case unemployment worsens enough to force action before next July.



Front, Brussels

"Well, Mr. President, where shall I store your election promises?"

Taxes

Truman is already aware of the headaches in this sector. His request for $4,000,000,000 increase in taxes last year was ignored. He has the problem jointly with his own critics of asking for billions for armaments while at the same time having to reduce his deficit in deference to the growing chorus of economizers in his own and the Republican Party.

Publicly he has asked for a reduction in low income taxes. In fact he will be under much greater pressure—from sections of business—to repeal some excise (luxury) taxes; but any request for new taxes to take their place will be ignored also in an election year. Result will be a doubling of the present deficit of $5,000,000 in a year of "Truman prosperity."

Question of the year is what will happen if the economy really runs into trouble, since, as long as the cold war lasts, deficit financing is necessary in times of prosperity.

Words and Deeds

What this session of Congress does will affect everyone in the country immediately in the place where it hurts—the pocketbook. What the long-term results will be for the condition of the American people hangs on the extent to which farmers, workers and Negro and other "second-class citizen" groups are able to separate in their minds the words and the actions of the Fair Deal.

If the motives behind the Alsop brothers' waspish analysis quoted above are not on the most public-spirited level, the analysis itself is worth entering in your notebook to be checked next fall.

The Democrats' dilemma

Dissecting the party

By Barney Conal

THE public is not aware that the party with the "Fair Deal" banner—which has a majority of 92 in the House—is the core of the conservatism that marred the 81st Congress to date. But Truman must be aware of it. That the Congress' "basic failure" was "its failure to consider seriously, let alone enact, these (liberal) programs" was admitted even by the pro-Truman-ADA weekly **New Republic.**

THE TALLY: The Democratic majorities in the House and Senate still leave the New Deal voters with a minority in Congress. Of the 263 Democrats in the House, 145 are southerners. Of these, 116 voted against all progressive measures, though almost all went down the line for the bi-partisan cold-war program. Of the 54 Democrats in the Senate, 28 are southerners. Of these, 26 are more representative of big corporations than of the American voter.

If one adds to the conservative southern Democrats the conservative northern Democrats beholden primarily to big business and to the big city machines which nominated them, then U.S. conservatism has a majority of 14 within the Democratic Party itself in the U.S. Senate. In Congress as a whole, as even the **New Republic** points out, one out of every four victories won by the people in the 81st Congress was achieved through the support of Republicans against southern Democratic opposition.

BOILING THEM DOWN: A breakdown of the political composition of the Democratic Party in the U.S. Senate reveals that of its 54 members:

- 17 are isolationists or their cold-war counterpart—interventionists.
- 33 are men with one or more big business tie (steel, cement, power utilities and real estate—or all of them).
- 22 of these 33 were openly opposed to labor on almost all its issues.
- Among the 21 remaining so-called "straight Administration men" who go down the line with it (and most Republicans) on the cold-war program—only 13 go all the way with the "Fair Deal" program for the record on the floor of the Senate.

Confronted by these divisions and conflicting blocs within his own party, and knowing that the cards are not in his hands to deal, Truman must nevertheless produce a program which sounds as liberal as ever but has as many conservative loopholes as ever.

PROGRESSIVES' JOB: Truman's chief problem is how to carry on and pay for the cold war and still seem sincere about the domestic program on which farmers, labor, Negro and low-income wage earners elected him. Practical Democratic politicians are reminding him that he got only 49% of the total vote in 1948, and warning that his mathematical minority can easily become an electoral minority if his promises remain unfulfilled—while past savings of the 50% of America living at bare subsistence level shrink toward zero.

Blame for failures will be placed on the Republicans, the bipartisan economy bloc, the southern poll-taxers and, of course, the Communists. Cynical and dangerous as Truman's demagogy is, it is likely to serve until and unless exposed by the country's intelligent progressives and by contradictions within the Democratic Party itself.

A review of 1949—the good things that happened

THE end of 1949 cut the Twentieth Century cleanly in half. Stocktaking seemed in order, but an inventory depended on who did the auditing. The gains and losses—for the people—were not easy to reckon. It would take a longer time for the kind of knowing hindsight that could get the books straight and state clearly where the world stood at the midway point between 1900 and 2000.

To many the year 1949 seemed dark and the future foreboding. In the balance sheets drawn up by the pundits of the press there was little to cheer. Yet the last year of the first 50 contained many a bright sign pointing to better times to come. For one thing, 1949 was the first full year of life for the GUARDIAN, and from the GUARDIAN's own files now come many reports of good things accomplished by good people.

PROGRESS OF PEACE: It was a bleak year of cold war, yet GUARDIAN in 1949 found enough news of peace to make it the subject most written about in its pages. In 1949, 17 peace conferences were held in ten countries. To them came upwards of 100,000 delegates. Behind them stood most of the earth's population to whom it was clear that two world wars in one generation were more than plenty. In the American press the peace conferences around the world were mostly ignored or denounced—except in GUARDIAN's pages. But the will of so many could not be ignored. At year's end peace still reigned and seemed likely to continue for as long as people everywhere were active in its maintenance.

PEOPLE ON THE MARCH: But the fight for peace was an international phenomenon. There was many another event outside U.S. borders to be reckoned on the credit side of humanity in the long pull:

The Chinese conquered China; the Russians dramatized the peaceful uses of the atom; Italian peasants claimed their own land; the peoples of devastated Europe climbed upward from their own ruins.

Good things happened in the U.S. too, although the gains of progress sometimes seemed submerged in the morass of reaction. In the time when things are reckoned finally some may be regarded as decisive. They served to counterbalance the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the cold war and the betrayals of the Fair Deal. These were some:

THE FREEDOMS: Maryland's police-state Ober Law was declared unconstitutional.

New York's Feinberg Law to gag school teachers was ruled unconstitutional.

New Jersey's Tumulty-Mehorter loyalty oath law was overturned by the courts.

In Scarsdale, N.Y., citizens rose up to bar a purge of progressive books in school libraries.

Gerhart Eisler, German anti-Fascist hounded for years by U.S. reaction, escaped to England, there was set free to return to his homeland.

In Chicago James Montgomery, imprisoned 26 years on a framed rape charge, was finally freed.

The Trenton Six, sentenced to death, won a reversal of their conviction and a new trial.

Alger Hiss, victim of a national spy hysteria, stood unconvicted in one trial, held a fair chance of acquittal in a second.

FARM AND LABOR: All through the summer in the Midwest farmers and organized labor got together on a score of fronts, formed a unity of interests that bid fair to carry far into the future.

In Hawaii one of the longest, bitterest strikes in recent U.S. labor history came to an end with a full-fledged victory for organized longshoremen, to be followed later by gains for Hawaiian sugar workers—won without strikes.

In U.S. coalfields miners stood fast against concerted efforts to smash their ranks. At year's end they were experiencing want, but they were undefeated.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS: In Los Angeles a century-old pattern of discrimination against a minority was overturned when a Mexican-American was elected to the City Council.

All through the Southwest other Mexican-Americans were on the march for equal rights through a new, militant organization, the Association Nacional Mexicana-Americana.

In Fierro, N.M., five Mexican-American miners framed by local sheriffs were freed.

In Del Rio, Tex., Mexican-Americans took things into their own hands, ended a 19-year-old segregation rule in their local schools.

In four states Fair Employment Practice Laws were enacted; in countless communities civic and other groups battled with more or less success to enforce FEPC's on a local level.

THE SOUTH: In the South a big switch was made, the force of which would be felt later. In state after state Negroes had cracked through the "white primary" and won the right to vote; nowhere was there an accurate count of the number of Negroes registered for the first time since Reconstruction, but political upsets were certain in many a region.

In numerous states and cities the "separate but equal" myth—applying particularly to schools for Negroes—was overturned by Federal courts. A national ruling on the matter was pending before the Supreme Court at year's end.

In 14 southern states 70% of white educators polled stood publicly against jimcrow.

In Birmingham zoning laws that would force Negroes into ghettoes were thrown out by a Federal court.

All over the country, following a long campaign by the Farmers Union, processes were at work to bring telephones to farms that never had them.

TO THE FUTURE: This is all only a sampling. Everywhere good things are happening. The people are restless and on the move. Nowhere are they totally united, totally agreed. On many fronts they have suffered losses. But always, somewhere, enough of them are united and agreed to make gains, at least to hold their own.

They are the hope of the coming year, the coming half century. GUARDIAN salutes them, offers to work with them for the good of the present and the future.

P.S. J. Parnell Thomas went to jail.

Progressives on the march

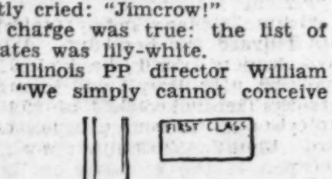
Politics—urban and farm—a tough cop and rents

AT the turn of the year the Progressive Party around the country was plugging away at problems that would stretch far into '50. Peace, plenty and freedom were still the goals. These were some of the Progressive Party activities as the year changed:

ILLINOIS: The Progressive Party of Cook County (Chicago) took one look at the local Democrats' 1950 slate, promptly cried: "Jimcrow!"

The charge was true: the list of candidates was lily-white.

Said Illinois PP director William Miller: "We simply cannot conceive that among the hundreds of thousands of Negro people in Cook County none could be found by the slatemakers with the necessary qualifications for a position of top honor on this or any other slate . . ."



Daily Express, London

"Is it true, Lady Littlehampton, that you once attended a concert by Paul Robeson?"

The Progressives' slate was yet to be announced. But it was certain that on it would be Negro candidates.

IOWA: It was up to the people. The Progressive Party mailed out a round-robin letters to all its members asking one big question: "What shall be the direction of the Progressive Party of Iowa for 1950?"

The answers would shape the course of a state central committee meeting set for Jan. 15 in Des Moines to map a program for the corn state.

The Progressives looked over Iowa's representation in Congress, remarked that one of its senators and all eight of its representatives are Republicans whose voting on progressive measures has been almost unbelievably bad.

Why, they asked, should this be in a state where industrialization and unionism is new and fresh in the eastern part of the state, and where the Farmers Union is thoroughly progressive and influential in the rural regions?

The outlook was bright. Organized farmer-labor unity in Iowa had grown during the summer, 100% parity income was a prime issue, and supporting progressive aims was one of the truly progressive weeklies in the U.S.: the **Unionist and Public Forum**, published in Sioux City by Ed Roeloff.

Dear Councilman
We Want you to
FIGHT for RENT CONTROL
in Los Angeles

These people just don't believe landlords. The landlords say you don't need rent control in Los Angeles because there's no housing shortage, see? Eleven per cent of all the houses are empty, see? Members of neighborhood Independent Progressive Party clubs looked but still couldn't find an apartment for less than $100 a month. That is why they got up giant postcards like the one above and took them right down to City Hall. They made the City Council look and listen too.

NEW JERSEY: He had always been a tough cop. Montclair citizens had a nickname for him: Shoot-'Em-Up-Moore. His specialty: roughing up Negro residents.

The Progressive Party moved against him in three directions: the city council, the courts, the townspeople themselves. Local ministers joined the campaign. As the year ended, victory came. Policeman William Moore was dismissed from the force.

INDIANA: The meeting was listed as a public hearing on decontrol of rents in Indianapolis. Actually it was a conclave of landlords.. Few were present to contradict arguments for the end of controls.

One did. He was local Progressive Party chairman Forrest Davis. He cited facts and figures showing how rents had skyrocketed wherever controls were lifted. He countered landlords' demands with his party's program.

As he left the court house he was slugged and beaten. Indianapolis Progressive Party was seeking warrants for the arrest of his attackers.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

THINGS TO COME

Happy are they

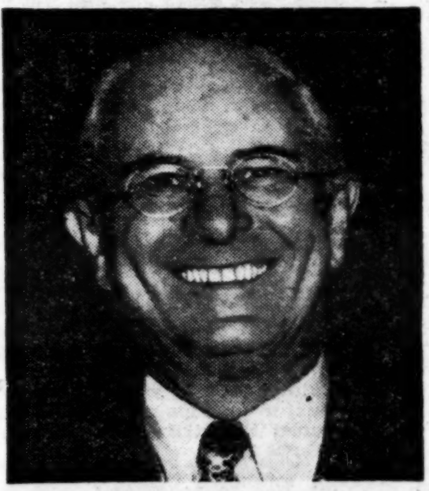
"The fundamental business of the country . . . is on a sound and prosperous basis."
—Herbert Hoover, Oct. 25, 1929

FEW 1950 crystal-gazers were ready to subscribe to the time-honored adage that "prediction is the most gratuitous form of human folly." All over the U.S., economists, government officials, business executives and labor leaders were peering ahead, some hopefully, some fearfully. On the financial pages of the daily press the future looked rosy indeed.

Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer had visited eight sections of the U.S. in a recent 15,000-mile tour. He looked over his notes, then reported to President Truman in a year-end summary: "Our economy is essentially sound." Business would do well in the first half of 1950; the decline in the first half of 1949, he said, was "natural and necessary."

Truman's Council of Economic Advisers also told him about "necessary" recessions. Its report said: "Possibly some periodic setbacks of moderate size are the price we must continue indefinitely to pay for the freedom and flexibility which make our system so dynamic in the long run."

Urging greater love between government and business, the Council took a swipe at the New Deal and edged back to Hoover's "trickle-down" philosophy. Best bet, it thought, would lie in mutual business-government education; maybe both could learn how to get around the anti-trust laws. For people who can't work, the Council had only this word: "The support of people who are too old to work or who are unemployed or ill, does not create wealth."



CHARLES SAWYER
The optimism was Hooverian

SPELL IT BACKWARDS: The National Assn. of Manufacturers, hardly concerned with mounting unemployment and spreading relief crises, was willing to settle for a 1950 production below the 1949 level. But NAM was worried about the "mixed trend" in profits.

A poll of N.Y. executives showed general optimism. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, felt all would be well if the government didn't do "some foolish things politically." Likewise, the Guaranty Trust Co. saw menace only in the "possibility of ill-advised legislation" such as repeal of Taft-Hartley or new taxes.

The crystal got clouded for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. What appeared was a gradual downturn of business with slowly rising unemployment. (Loss of jobs increased by 300,000 between October and November, the bureau said, in contrast to an increase of only 50,000 in the same period of 1948; average weekly wages for 11,000,000 production workers fell 75c in November, and durable-goods workers were averaging $1 less a week than in 1948.)

LOOK OUT, YOU CIO! AFL seers predicted unemployment would go up at least 1,000,000 in 1950, hinted that the AFL might steal the CIO's neglected thunder and ask for wage increases. Other labor economists used Sawyer's facts to knock holes in his optimism. They stressed significant reductions of business spending for new plant and equipment, a major prop of the post-war boom, and the overall 11% decline in industrial production since December, 1948.

Most prophets of prosperity rested their cases on continued government cold-war spending. Advance indications of Truman's new cold-war budget pointed to another "soak-the-poor" ledger, with about 35% going into armaments, 15% into foreign policy, 6% to 10% into social welfare. (Government spending today amounts to about $300 per person; during the New Deal it averaged $30.)

HUSH, LITTLE GENERAL: The cold war preoccupied business, government and labor economists and political scientists gathered in New York last week for annual professional meetings. Principal speaker at the opening session of the Political Science Assn. was Lt. Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, Army Deputy Chief of Staff. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** described his off-the-record talk this way:

"He was assisted by four soldiers from Fort Jay, Governors Island, who shifted huge maps of Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Alaska, and an organizational chart of the Soviet High Command, as he spoke."

Another speaker was John Foster Dulles, who praised the blessings of liberty. He attacked federal aid to education, the Brannan farm plan, health insurance, British socialism and Russia. But everybody wished everybody else a happy new year.

LIVING COSTS

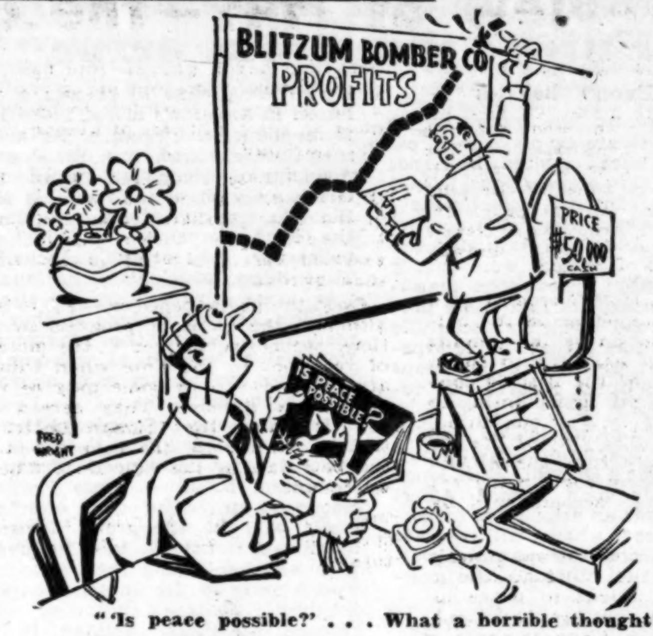
RELIEF

Rage in N.Y.

ON New Year's Day, Mayor O'Dwyer's salary jumped from $25,000 to $40,000 a year; other top New York City officials began receiving proportionate pay boosts. To 332,000 New Yorkers on relief it looked like a topsy-turvy beginning of 1950. On Jan. 16 their allotments are to be cut an average of $6-$8 a month.

GUARDIAN's Charlotte Parks stood before Welfare Dept. headquarters at an American Labor Party rally. She reported anger and bewilderment at the idea that jobless people could feed, clothe and house themselves on Commissioner Raymond Hilliard's new relief figures.

GATHERING STORM: Around the city other streets echoed ALP protests. As people learned the facts, organizations of many political hues added their voices. The City Council voted 16-0 for a resolution asking that the cuts be reconsidered, that relief standards be raised rather than lowered.



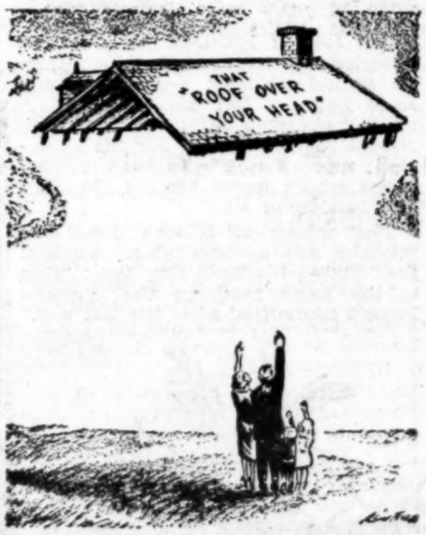
"'Is peace possible?' . . . What a horrible thought!"

New Yorkers were beginning to learn that they were being dragged backwards. Last month Massachusetts increased old-age allotments for leisure time activities. Twenty-seven states include church and club membership costs in relief budgets. Under the Hilliard cuts, an aged couple in New York will be reduced by $8.39 a month. Other slashes will hit the blind, pregnant women, school children, the disabled.

O'Dwyer's machine faced a raging storm. People wondered when it would run for cover.

RENTS

How high is the sky?



Montreal Star

Still "over their heads."

NEW leases on life were a dime a dozen as the new year began, but rents spurted skyward without pause. The wrecking of rent control begun by the 81st Congress was in full mid-century swing.

From GUARDIAN'S Gene Richard in Los Angeles came a characteristic report. One landlord sent this holiday greeting to his tenants: "I am happy to tell you that your rent, beginning Jan. 1, will be doubled."

Richards said that decontrol, encouraged by Republican Gov. Earl Warren under the federal local-option clause, sent southern California rents zooming over the Christmas season. Tenant complaints poured into the area director's office. Average boosts in Beverly Hills were 79%; 100% increases were frequent. In one working-class district rents jumped from $35 to $65 for all residents of one building.

THE FIGHT'S NOT OVER: Said Richards: "In 11 communities, local governing bodies had approved decontrol and gubernatorial action was awaited. In some, spirited opposition was being conducted by labor and progressive groups. Startling results of decontrol in Los Angeles suburbs were stiffening resistance to efforts of the city's real estate lobby to secure decontrol. Mayor Fletcher Bowron and the City Council were passing the buck back and forth and citizens' groups stormed City Hall."

PHILADELPHIA

Judge meets people

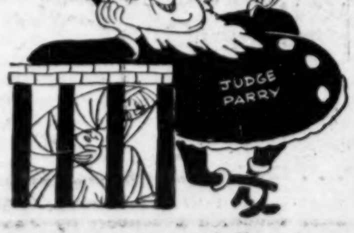
THE beginning was a horror, the end bright. Four days before Christmas, Judge George C. Parry sentenced Mrs. Lillian Gilyard, 38, to four months in the county prison. In her arms was her seven-month-old son. "What shall I do with the baby?" asked a deputy sheriff. "Send him with her!" snapped the judge.

Her crime: for two and a half years she had been on relief. It was never enough for all nine kids. Whenever she could, she took domestic work, earned $587.80 in that time. In Philadelphia such earnings must be deducted from relief benefits. Mrs. Gilyard and her baby were put in jail.

FAST REACTION: The city reacted with a shock. City Hall phones rang steadily with protests. Judge Parry lodged a protest of his own. He called the Philadelphia **Inquirer** which quoted him as calling Mrs. Gilyard "that nigger wench."

Within 24 hours public protests got Mrs. Gilyard and her baby out of jail. Civic leaders raised the $587.80. More than 50 attorneys volunteered their services. The judge asked and got police protection. Gifts poured in on the Gilyard family. Christmas was fairly merry.

In the aftermath, the Philadelphia chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People started proceedings to impeach Judge Parry.



Partisan of peace

Albert Einstein and the echo of Hitler's disastrous error

By Egon Pohoryles

THERE were no photographers, no advance fanfare, no elaborate press conference. Wire services had not been alerted. Big corporations did not offer to buy. Instead, scientists attending last week's New York conference of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science were quietly shown a 20-page typewritten manuscript. The scientists had come prepared to read weighty scientific papers. They found that the 20 typewritten pages were more important than all the other reports put together.

The manuscript was called simply: "Generalized Theory of Gravitation." The author was a German-born, long-haired, untidy man named Albert Einstein. It was an attempt to formulate a concept which will explain everything about the physical universe, from the atom to the constellations.

With the energy of the atom already released by a theory worked out by Einstein in 1905, scientists were afraid to guess where the new theory might lead. Some wondered about the untapped sources of energy in what we now call "space."

"SENILE" GENIUS: Einstein's new theory came as somewhat of a surprise to many scientists, who were willing to concede him the title of "grand old man" but hardly prepared to hear from him again on something new. No one, they pointed out, had done anything in Einstein's field for 30 years. Besides, it wasn't practical. As for Einstein himself, it was freely rumored that he was "senile," "washed up." "Nothing worth while," some had convinced themselves, was ever done by anyone over 35.

Super-Americans had other evidence of Einstein's "senility." He was not only not American born, but he was publicly on record for socialism. In 1947 **Pravda** called him a "sincere friend" of the Soviet Union. In 1948, he had called Henry Wallace the man who "can save us from the threatening domestic and international situation."

In an article written this year for the **Monthly Review**, independent socialist magazine, he urged an end to capitalism because it led to unemployment, "increasingly severe depressions," "huge waste of labor" and "crippling of the social consciousness of individuals."

"LET'S SPLIT THE ATOM": For unbiased Americans there was a vital lesson in Einstein's latest, modest but tremendous performance. As a German Jew, expelled from the Prussian Academy of Science and forced to flee Germany with a price on his head, Einstein was one of many victims of the Nazi purge of "racially" and politically unacceptable scientists. That blind, unscientific nationalism was more than anything else the Achilles heel of Hitler's mighty war machine; and to the readiness of Roosevelt's America to welcome the Einsteins our victory may above all have been due.

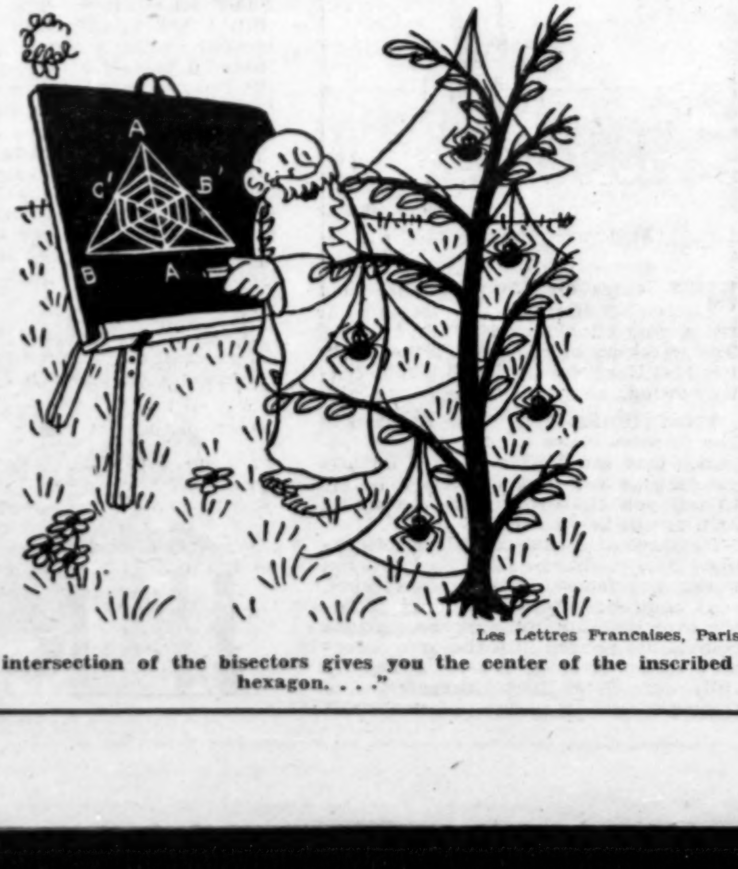
For when the U. S. entered the war Einstein—now a life professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J. — wrote President Roosevelt proposing that efforts be made to split the atom. Roosevelt appointed Henry Wallace to investigate whether taking the chance was worth going to the immense expense involved. Wallace contacted other refugee scientists, decided it was worth a try.

Over the objections of military men, the Manhattan Project was launched. Yet recently a military man testified that the Manhattan Project considered Einstein a poor security risk and was careful not to let him know what was going on. (Jokesters said it was like not telling God about the Creation.)

BLIND BRASS: Einstein's fight for world peace, which he sees possible only through the establishment of a supra-national government "with or without the Russians" because atomic energy has made nationalism obsolete, has caused "benevolent attacks" on him by Soviet scientists and equally benevolent replies.

But in the U. S.—the country now claiming his citizen's allegiance and his priceless brain—the attacks are far from benevolent. Last November Rear Adm. James Fife, commander of the U. S. Atlantic Fleet submarine force, said if Einstein "doesn't like Americanism or our nationalism, then he should go back where he came from and try Mr. Hitler again." A navy spokesman said: "Admiral Fife should be commended for his forthright expression in behalf of the principles which mean Liberty, Equality and Justice for all."

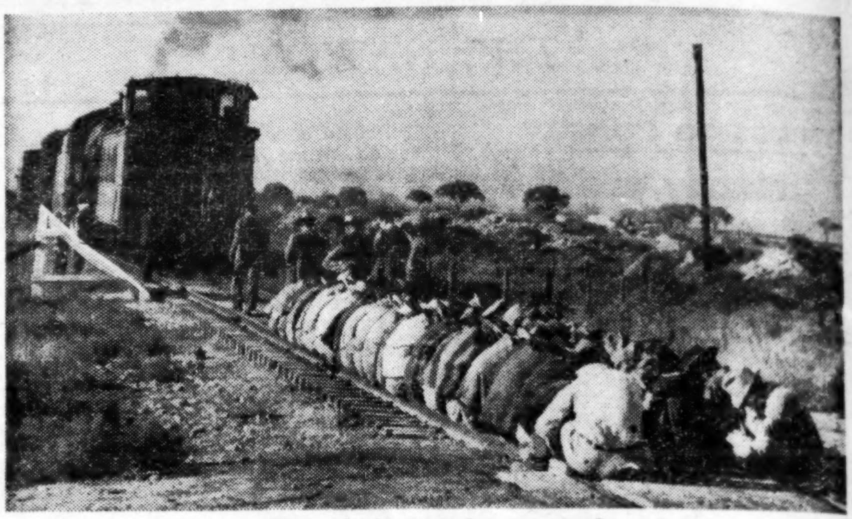
The echoes of Hitler's disastrous mistake are unmistakable. Einstein just shakes his head and says: "This is the same madness the Western Powers committed after the last war."



Les Lettres Francaises, Paris

". . . the intersection of the bisectors gives you the center of the inscribed hexagon. . . ."

LABOR WEEK



We shall not be moved

Striking potash miners at Carlsbad, N. M., used this method of preventing the operators from working the pits. (See Mine-Mill story, this page.)

MINE-MILL

Men on the tracks

EMPLOYMENT in the U.S. potash industry has been shrinking. The government has spent $4,000,000 to develop French potash mines. U.S. companies have used the situation to get tough with their workers.

In Carlsbad, N.M., where much of the country's potash is mined, the companies abused their contracts with the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. Seniority rights of workers were ignored; standards of safety, promotions, job security were disregarded. When the union asked for wage increases in May, the companies brushed it off.

In November about 1,500 potash miners of three major companies struck. The companies hired Rufus T. Poole, a lawyer, to find a method under the Taft-Hartley law to break the strike.

MEN ON RIGHT TRACK: One day after the strike began, the companies tried to move potash from the mines. Strikers sat on the railroad tracks, prevented the cars from going into the mines. Poole got an injunction. Train crews, members of the Railroad Brotherhoods, balked. No potash came out.

One company tried to stir up violence so it could get an injunction preventing picketing. It asked an AFL union representing electrical workers to send men to work. Strikers made no move to stop them; they simply held up placards explaining why they were on strike. The AFL men read the placards, turned around and went home. AFL International Assn. of Machinists members also refused to work in the struck plants.

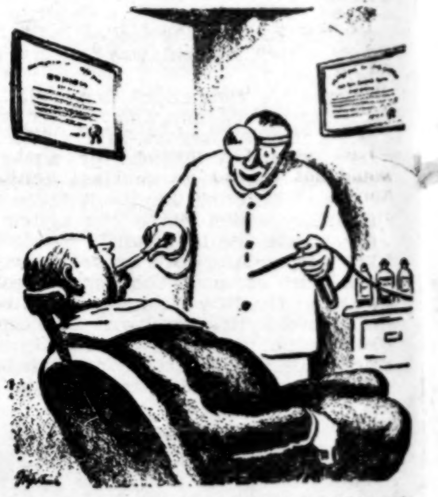
The strikers found allies in many quarters. GUARDIAN correspondent Henry Horowitz reported from Carlsbad: "County Sheriff Lee Dwight, running counter to the usual anti-labor pattern of men in his position, deputized 16 strikers immediately after the strike began. These men make regular rounds of bars and other public places, with the result that there hasn't been a single brawl, fight or other disorder involving strikers."

FARMERS' FIGHT, TOO: Neighboring farmers contributed 50 tons of food to the strikers. They have a prime interest in potash, a basic ingredient in fertilizer.

The strikers bought a surplus army building, moved it to a lot near the struck plants. It serves as a strike kitchen and meeting hall. Strikers and their families go there for meals.

Last month the union appealed to the government for help. Potash companies operate on leased public lands. The union asked Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman to revoke the leases because the companies refused to bargain.

The union had bargained jointly on wages with all companies. "Non-economic" issues were negotiated separately. Talks on wages were discontinued, to be resumed when other issues were settled. Strike morale was high, funds low. C. D. Smotherman, president of the local, said contributions would be welcomed by the Strike Fund, Carlsbad Potash Workers Local 415, P.O. Box 989, Carlsbad, N.M.



St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch

"Now say: 'Free Enterprise'!"

SOCIAL SERVICE UNION

Welfare for all

FOR nearly a month 150 social service workers in Los Angeles have been plodding a picket line before the headquarters of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations. Although more than 25,000—Jews and non-Jews—have protested the federation's refusal to negotiate or arbitrate wage disputes, the five major newspapers have hardly mentioned the strike.

The 150 strikers belong to the Social Service Employes Union, Local 95, an affiliate of the CIO United Office and Professional Workers. Since last March they have sought a wage range of $45 to $65 a week. Federation officials, while announcing plans for $1,500,000 in building projects, said they couldn't afford it. They also cited a "moral commitment" not to raise wages above those paid by the Los Angeles Community Chest; that agency denied there was such a commitment.

PLENTY OF SUPPORT: Support has come to the strikers from the American Jewish Congress, Community Service Organization, CIO Council, Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and other groups. Local 95 leaders say that the federation forced the strike in an effort to capitalize on the national CIO's attempt to expel the UOPWA.

For New Americans

In New York, a tense situation prevailed last week for 800 members of Local 19 of the same union. They were struggling for wage increases and improved working conditions at the United Service for New Americans and the N.Y. Assn. for New Americans. A one-day sit-in Dec. 8 had marked the beginning of the end of their patience; strike authorization had been voted. A big issue was the abolition of discrimination against Negroes in hiring.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Pattern-busters

THE General Electric Co. has long been a strongpoint of the United Electrical Workers. The union holds a single contract governing uniform conditions of more than 125,000 GE workers in 14 states until April 1.

Last week the company, with the help of the CIO's new International Union of Electrical Workers, moved to smash the company-wide bargaining pattern established by UE.

In October, when the CIO was preparing to expel UE, General Electric offered to extend its contract until 1951 if UE would accept a token pension and welfare program. UE refused, demanded real benefits.

PATTERN-BUSTING: In November, the new-born IUE claimed it represented GE workers, asked the company for a contract. GE broke off negotiations with UE, said it wanted a National Labor Relations Board election to determine representation.

UE agreed but wanted the election in March, just before the contract expires. To hold an election after the contract expired, it argued, would leave the workers unprotected. The IUE stalled, refused to discuss an election date.

Last week GE notified UE that it would not extend its contract beyond April 1. It would bargain only with the union which wins an election.

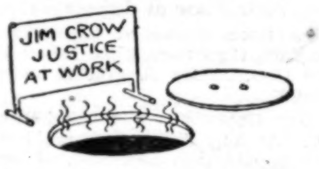
UE officials told the GUARDIAN: "GE's purpose is to end company-wide bargaining. It wants separate contracts in each plant. From those few shops that IUE can win, it expects substandard agreements. These it will use against the majority of the shops, which will stay in UE."

FREEDOMS

TRENTON SIX

Guardian talks to mystery witness

THE case of the Trenton Six—six Negroes sentenced to death at Trenton, N. J., for a murder they could not have committed—has its mystery woman. She is Elizabeth McGuire, 60, common-law wife for 32 years of the murdered junk-dealer William Horner, and the only person known to have been in the house when Horner was killed. Confronted with the Trenton Six after the murder, she first said she had never seen them before, then claimed to identify them. Later she vanished.


JIM CROW JUSTICE AT WORK

Last month Judge Charles P. Hutchinson (whose death sentence passed on the Six the N. J. Supreme Court called a "judgment tainted with error" in ordering a new trial) barred O. John Rogge and two other defense attorneys from representing their clients. The judge refused bail, refused to hear new testimony proving Elizabeth McGuire perjured herself in identifying three of the Six. But he did request Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe to make public Mrs. McGuire's present address.

JOURNEY'S END: To William A. Reuben, who has covered the case for the GUARDIAN since its second issue, Miss McGuire had remained a legend: a well-set-up, elderly woman in photos published during the trial, the subject of an affidavit from a former neighbor who said she "would stay in her room by herself all day, talking to herself, throwing things around and hitting the wall."

Five days before Christmas Reuben called at "The Outlook" rooming-house, a block from the Atlantic Ocean at Ocean Grove, N.J. The street, with its boarded-up houses, had the deserted air of a summer resort in dead of winter. Reuben's knock was answered by a tiny, bird-like woman with a face disfigurement, a five-inch gold cross as the only ornamentation on her blue gingham house dress.

"I am Miss McGuire," she said. "What did you want to see her about?"

PREMATURE XMAS: Unsteadied by her appearance—she had lost at least 50 pounds since the trial—Reuben felt "like a Stanley finally finding his Livingstone." He said he was from a paper interested in printing and paying for her story of the case. For five minutes the woman, convinced he was a bill-collector, continued protesting she didn't owe anything. When she understood, she moved to dive back in the house, saying she was "terribly busy getting Christmas dinner ready." Finally—the thought seemed to come to her like something that had been eluding her for a long time—she said: "I do not care to talk about this case in any manner—shape—or form."

Then she firmly closed the door, leaving these key questions still unanswered: How could she identify five months later three defendants she couldn't identify 10 days after the crime? How did she explain her admission that prosecutor and police rehearsed her testimony again and again? Was she still talking to herself and throwing things around?

New trial of the Trenton Six was postponed again until February.

CHICAGO

Charity with bricks

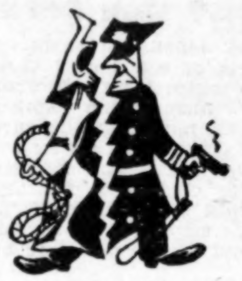
DURING 1949 Chicago learned the chilling story of racism transformed into mob violence. Mobs attacked Negro home-purchasers in Park Manor, Jews and Negroes in Englewood. "Improvement associations" were organized to defend bigotry, by violence if necessary.

On Nov. 9—the day after mobs gathered at the home of Aaron Bindman and William Sennett to assault Jews who were friendly with Negroes—incorporation papers were filed for the White Circle League of America, an outfit with more than a hint of tie-up with property owners and racist mobs.

White Circle's founder and president is Joseph Beauharnais, who runs an obscure religious goods business and sublets office space from a real estate firm. For incorporation purposes the League calls itself "charitable."

On its letterhead, GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren reported, it is "dedicated to protect and maintain the dignity, social edicts, customs and rights of the white race of America."

Beauharnais admits he was one of the mob at the Roscoe Johnson home in Park Manor last July: "The White Circle League," he says, "was born that night." Claiming 2,000 Park Manor members at $1 each, the League has two directors who live on the Johnson block, another who comes from Englewood.



NOD FROM THE COPS: Two hundred League members who recently attended a closed meeting were told that a corps of 2,000 "able-bodied white men" was ready to serve if "race riots" break out; and that Police Commissioner Prendergast had thanked the League for offering vigilante help. Two uniformed policemen and several plainclothesmen in the hall nodded agreement with the speakers, especially with one who said: "The White Circle League has already signed up 400 members of the police force. They're with us."

The League's program demands withdrawal of police protection for Negroes moving into white areas and refusal of employment to Negroes by white enterprises. It advises Negroes to "get out of Chicago." The Illinois Civil Rights Congress is campaigning to force city and state prosecution of the League as a subversive organization.

WHO IS THE VICTIM? Victims of racist mobs were trying to find out if they could recover damages in the courts. In 1946 Kenneth Kennedy, then president of the United and Allied Negro War Veterans, tried to help two veterans move into Airport Homes. A mob wrecked his car, stoned him; he was made permanently deaf in one ear. He sued the city for $10,000 under a 1905 law to suppress mob violence, and

(Continued on following page)

Blow in the breadbasket

Meaning of the doublecross on FAO and Brannan Plan

By C. W. Fowler
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

WITH the killing of the world food plan of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization and the strangulation of the Brannan plan domestically, U.S. consumers and farmers have been dealt a double blow in the breadbasket.

The FAO plan, which would have sent U.S. surplus food to hungry people regardless of dollars or politics, was killed on orders from the State Dept., which then had the gall to chide the FAO for neglecting hungry people. No less a personage than Vice-President Alben Barkley led the choking of the Brannan plan near the end of the first session of the 81st Congress.

YOU CAN'T EAT MEMOS: As a result of the twin doublecross, the FAO plan has degenerated into another "study" of world food needs and the Brannan plan has been laid away by the Administration for 1950 and 1952 campaign use. Unfortunately, neither U.S. nor foreign consumers can eat surveys or election promises. Nor can U.S. farmers, especially the small family tillers, stay in business on such a diet

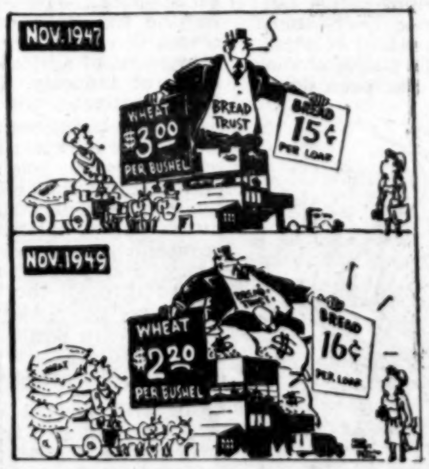
The killing of the FAO and Brannan plan's fate unmasks the profit hunger of the men who rule U.S. food production.

Take the domestic situation first—though foreign and domestic policies on food are as inseparable as those concerning labor or civil rights. The plain truth is that the Brannan plan has been stalled at the behest of the food trust.

THE FARMERS' GRIEF: Take bread as an example. For every dollar you pay for it, the farmer gets exactly 16c. The middleman (baker, miller, retailer, etc.) gets the rest—84c. Or another way—the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics says white bread cost 14.5c a pound in September, 1949; of this, the farmer got 2.4c, the baker, miller and retailer the rest.

Can anyone imagine Continental Baking, with 13% of the industry's assets, or General Mills, with 15.6% of the flour industry's assets, being in favor of the Brannan plan? They were not—and millions of words dumped out of the radio and spread on newspaper editorial pages prepared the way for Truman and Barkley to pigeonhole it.

Despite all the other things bakers put into bread, wheat is still the main ingredient. You might think a falling wheat price would cut the price of bread—but it didn't. Wheat was $3 a bushel in November, 1947, bread was 15c a loaf in New York. Two years later wheat was down to $2.20 a bushel, bread had risen a cent a loaf.



That's what just one monopoly can do to the staff of life. The Brannan plan would let bread and other foods go down for consumers, and at the same time support farm income by subsidy payments. Without it the small wheat farmer goes broke and the consumer eats less bread.

HUNGER DOESN'T FIT: The FAO plan would have fed hungry people and taken a so-called "surplus" off the U.S. farmer's neck. Other FAO objectives were to promote food production abroad and in general help make up the 50% food deficiency the world now suffers.

Cold war and monopoly broke the back of the FAO plan at the recent Washington conference. The concept of an adequately fed world doesn't fit into either policy. Contrary to its own mouthings about full bellies to "stop communism," the State Dept. and its business advisers prefer hunger to the distribution of plenty.

After all, profits can be made by withholding a "surplus" from the consumer. Grapes dumped in California hold up the retail price in New York, and U.S. wine can drive its competitors off the Frenchman's table The tobacco industry of Greece has already been destroyed by U.S. exports, with the U.S. taxpayer and consumer paying the cost.

IT'S UP TO PEOPLE: No one will assert that the FAO and Brannan plans would solve all the farmers and consumers' problems, but they represented at least an attempt to loosen monopoly's grip on world food

So it seems that U.S. consumers and farmers will have to organize the political battles of 1950 that will put food in its proper place—on the worldwide family table, not just in the corporate cashbox.

(Continued from preceding page)

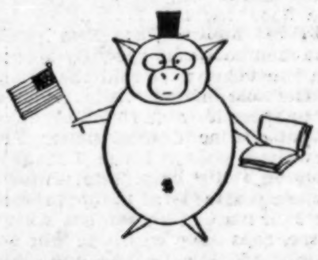
won a $2,000 verdict.

Last week Chicago's corporation counsel asked dismissal of the award on the grounds that a mob's victim had to be an "actual or supposed" criminal. The Cook County Bar Assn., in a brief to the Appellate Court challenging the interpretation, said respected citizens deserve at least as much protection as criminals.

LOYALTY OATHS

Just sign here

IN fascist Japan ten years ago, the preparers of war busied themselves with the suppression of "dangerous thoughts" among the workers. In Chicago last month the Stewart-Warner Corp. demanded that its employes sign loyalty oaths. The company said its chances of getting military contracts would be impaired if "subversives" were employed. Five shop stewards refused to sign and were fired.



Ernest DeMaio, general vice-president of the United Electrical Workers, said the issue was "bread and butter." He observed that immediately after the stewards were fired "an attempt was made in one department to force each worker to operate six machines." The stewards had led the fight against speedup.

UE filed an unfair labor practice charge against the company.

THE OHIO VERSION: In Struthers, Ohio, an industrial center with a population of about 14,000, the City Council last week passed a law requiring all city employes and elected officials to sign loyalty oaths. Refusal meant no salaries.

Officials and workers rushed to sign. To date no one has publicly refused. Some said they would welcome a court test of the law's constitutionality.

ALLIS-CHALMERS VERSION: Workers in the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. plants in Wisconsin and elsewhere were called from their benches to hear lectures on "free enterprise." Classes were on company time, workers were compelled to attend. In one plant the classes cost $25,000 in production time.

The lectures, the company said, were to "identify encroaching socialism and communism," sell the "American way of life," inspire enthusiasm to preserve the "American way," and give the workers facts and techniques to carry on the fight. They attacked public housing, social security and national health insurance.

The CIO United Auto Workers filed an unfair labor practice charge. To UAW leaders, guarding their ties to the Democratic Party, there was danger that the company was campaigning for the Republican Party. Company officials answered that they were interested only in beating "communists"—also an aim of the union. They added: "We fought communism long before the union fought it. The union never did lick communists in the local. The company did."

NEW ORLEANS

Where is Ocie?

WHERE is Ocie Jugger? On Dec. 17 officials reported that he had escaped from the death cell of rough Gretna jail, across the river from New Orleans. By the end of last week there was still no word of his whereabouts. Fear that he might be dead was replaced by hope. But no one knew.

Ocie Jugger and Paul Washington have been under sentence of death for more than a year on an unproved charge of rape. Their case came to national attention when the Louisiana Civil Rights Congress stepped in to save them.

THE PROTESTS HELP: Gretna jail is notorious for brutality to Negro prisoners. Many have been horribly beaten; at least one has been killed. Jugger's reported escape had the earmarks of a lynching.

The Dec. 26 GUARDIAN contained the first full report of the Jugger-Washington case. Said the Civil Rights Congress: "CRC definitely feels that the many telegrams which Sheriff Clancy of Gretna has been receiving, primarily as a result of the GUARDIAN's excellent report of the frame-up, have played an important part in restraining the would-be lynchers from finding Jugger dead somewhere."

Plans for the defense of the two were speeded. In New Orleans a statewide defense committee was being formed; in New York a national committee was in the making.

THINGS TO DO: This urgent appeal was issued: keep the protest wires and letters pouring in—to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Washington, D.C.; to Sheriff Frank Clancy, Gretna, La.; to Gov. Earl K. Long, Baton Rouge, La.

For a New Year's deed, letters of encouragement should go directly to Paul Washington, Gretna Jail Death House, Gretna, La.

ALABAMA

Words make news

"NEGROES constitute 35% of our population in Alabama. Are they getting 35% of the fair share of living? Are they getting adequate medical care? Are they provided with sufficient professional training? Are Negroes being given their share of democracy?"

The questions answered themselves. But the fact that they were asked by Alabama Gov. James E. Folsom made them news.

Said the Governor in a Christmas message: "As long as Negroes are held down by deprivation and lack of opportunity, the other poor people will be held down alongside them."

Next day leading churchmen of the state applauded.

GOV. JAMES FOLSOM
Fresh southerly winds

Jennings Perry

One for the show?

IT has been 17 years since Franklin Roosevelt and George Norris, bundled to the chin against the nippy spring air, rode in their open car beside the Tennessee river—then running wild down to the distant sea—and talked of what would be done in the Tennessee Valley by the people of the U.S.A. TVA's 17th annual report on what has been done and is being done was sent to the White House Thursday for transmission to the 81st Congress and to the people of the U.S.A.

It is a routine report and happily, like those that have preceded, a progress report. TVA has completed another dam, its 17th. It has set out an additional 15,000,000 tree seedlings during the year. More than a million homes and businesses now are using TVA electric power. Where only 3% of the farms of the valley had electricity in 1933, the proportion passed 66% at the beginning of 1949.

THE tale is told in other measures, for TVA is concerned for the welfare of a whole region—restoration of its soil, conservation of its natural resources, the everyday health and wealth of its people:

"In 1947, manufacturing plants in the Valley employed 158,000 more workers than they did in 1933. This was an increase of 147%, as compared with a 119% increase in the country as a whole . . . The number of employes in trades and service groups increased by 145,000 between 1933 and 1947, while the income of proprietors and employes grew from $145,700,000 to $910,000,000. This increase of 525% compared with a 307% increase in the nation."

WHEN Roosevelt and Norris rode together by the wild river at the beginning of TVA, it was predicted by some that the Tennessee Valley might become "the Ruhr of America." The Valley has not been so unfortunate. Despite the large growth in manufacturing (which includes the world's greatest atomic energy plant), the improvement of agriculture has kept pace with the development of industry. The industry is dispersed, the green fields dominate, "the living is good."

It was predicted by others that conversion of the vast energies of the river into "subsidized" electric power would glut the power market and ruin the prospects of competing fuels—coal, oil and gas. The coal industry was particularly fearful. Today TVA, the largest consumer of coal in the Valley, has half a million tons to share with other government agencies or public utilities in case of emergency, and piped natural gas from the Southwest has spread through the Valley from one end to the other.

As for the famed "subsidy," the nation's return on its investment in power facilities in the Valley has averaged 4.7% for the past five years. All of TVA's earnings are, of course, the property of the nation.

THE 17th annual success report of the TVA "experiment" will be handed to the 81st Congress for its information and guidance—along with the President's recommendations for the multiple-purpose development of other American river systems. Congress may continue to rebuff the recommendations and ignore the example—but only, it seems to me, at the expense of reason and of the general welfare.

TVA stands embarrassingly alone. Not, certainly, to the shame of TVA, which has proved its good. But to the shame of our whole people, who, having once found the daring to launch so grandiose a public enterprise and having witnessed its completely tangible and completely gratifying rewards, hesitate—now that even daring no longer is required—to do as much for themselves again and again and again.

THE TRIALS

HARRY BRIDGES

Tables turned

THE holidays brought 12 days of quiet to the federal courthouse in San Francisco, but defense counsel for Harry Bridges, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson gave the U.S. government no peace.

The three leaders of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are accused of perjury in denying in 1945 naturalization proceedings that Bridges was a Communist. The government's pre-recess case rested largely on two witnesses, Manning Johnson and Paul Crouch, who swore they saw Bridges at a Communist meeting in New York in the summer of 1936.

Last week Vincent Hallinan, Bridges' attorney, sent U.S. officials complete documentary proof that the union leader was on the West Coast during the entire period covered by the testimony. Hallinan demanded that the two witnesses be prosecuted for perjury. Grudgingly, Judge George Harris ordered the two held under subpena for possible indictment. The U.S. had its legal slip showing.

ALGER HISS

Character test

DR. Carl Binger, a Cornell University psychiatrist, sat through most of the first Alger Hiss perjury trial as a spectator. His job was to observe Whittaker Chambers' behavior and, if possible, to testify on the character of the man who accused Hiss of working for a Communist "apparatus." But when he reached the stand, Judge Samuel Kaufman refused to let him answer a 45-minute hypothetical question.

Last week the issue of Chambers' mind and character was up again. Judge Henry Goddard was asked by Hiss' counsel to permit expert psychiatric testimony. Indications were that he would. Hiss meanwhile was relying on his own story and the support of prominent character witnesses to sway the jury.

COPLON-GUBITCHEV

Swarms of tappers

ON one day last week, 19 FBI agents told a federal judge of tapping the phones of Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev. On another, six agents testified to wiretapping. The pre-trial hearing was to determine whether Miss Coplon and Gubitchev were indicted for conspiracy to commit espionage on legal evidence or illegal snooping.

Throughout, the U.S. maintained that wire-tapping had provided no real evidence. But it became clear that some of the defendants' meetings were learned of through tapped conversations and agents assigned on the basis of them.

How much of the case rested on illegal evidence was still to be determined. Enough had been brought out to send Miss Coplon's lawyer to Washington to ask that her earlier conviction be set aside.

Gubitchev was still mired in his attempt to establish diplomatic immunity.

United Nations review

The year saw some progress —no thanks to the U.S.

Guardian UN Correspondence
LAKE SUCCESS

AS the UN skyscraper takes its place among the landmarks of Manhattan, average Americans are waking up to the fact that the world organization is more than an abstraction. When UN operates on 42d St., physically visible and accessible, they will become better acquainted with it and with the trends and policies of so many foreign countries.

It is also to be hoped that they will seek first-hand knowledge of U.S. policies at UN, instead of relying on spotty and/or biased news coverage for their understanding.

As it got more and more involved in its "cold war" policy against the Soviet Union, the State Dept. has paid less and less respect to UN principles and agreements to which it subscribed. The blows UN suffered from Washington are many: from the wrecking of UNRRA to the sabotaging last month of the Food and Agriculture Organization plan for a World Food Bank. Three typical instances of U.S. bypassing or pressuring of UN show that whatever progress UN made this year was in spite of, rather than thanks to, the U.S. government.

WHO DID THE WEAKENING? Hardest blow was the conclusion of the Atlantic Pact on April 4, when the second part of the Third Assembly session was about to open. Few delegates then believed UN would survive more than a few months.

But while the U.S. was publicly weakening UN's prestige by setting up its own military league without it—and then claiming it did so because UN was weak—it was secretly negotiating with the Soviets about Berlin. The result of these conversations between Philip Jessup and Jakov Malik resulted in lifting of the Berlin blockade.

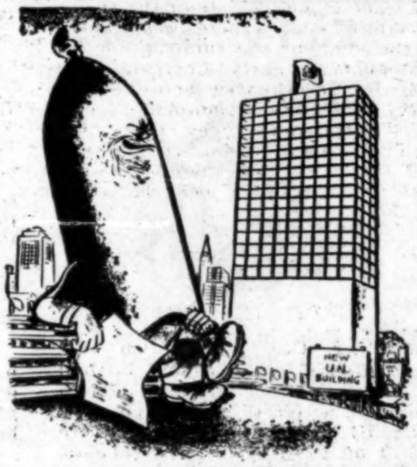
It showed that there was room for agreement with the Soviets if the U.S. wanted it. But Atlantic Pact policies could not thrive on agreement; and with solution of the Berlin quarrel, the search for agreement ended.

TECHNICALLY OPPOSED: Another blow, less publicized, was the attempt to kill the UN plan for technical assistance to undeveloped countries.

The Economic and Social Council, as soon as it started operating, had set to work on plans to improve technically and socially the world's underdeveloped regions. From year to year the idea evolved that progress in such areas was a duty to be assumed by UN members. Last year small-scale projects went into operation; and when the Assembly met in Paris in the fall of 1948, on the suggestion of Egypt, Burma, Chile and Peru, the plan was expanded.

The U.S. delegation fought bitterly against the project, thus creating much resentment among interested Latin American nations. But it was approved anyway and will prove to be this year's outstanding UN achievement.

THE RANKS CLOSE: Strangely enough, a few weeks later, in January, President Truman came out with his own grandiose plan for assistance: the famous "Point Four," which by-passes UN and enables U.S. capitalists to export their free enterprise system anywhere—together with the consequent political pressures. The UN plan nearly died at the time, for members of the Economic and Social Council waited for the U.S. to announce how much "Point Four" money it would give to the UN project. But the U.S. threw cold water on the hopes, and the Council lately sobered up and went ahead.



Herblock in Washington Post
"It better be good!"

During debates delegates of Asiatic, African and Latin American nations, who had known what imperialist exploitation meant, made it clear that they wanted help through UN, and no political strings attached. Final approval of the project was unanimous, thanks to the earnestness of these delegates, supported by the Slavs.

Thus, despite Harry Truman's efforts to please big business, the underdeveloped nations of the world will after all have the choice between unbiased technical and physical help and politically-tainted American aid.

AMERICA'S GLASS HOUSE: As for the atomic energy deadlock, of which much already has been written, let us simply recall that the U.S. refusal to compromise succeeded in quashing three attempts to solve it. These attempts were made by India, Haiti and Carlos Romulo of the Philippines. Refusing to debate any possible compromise on the floor, the U.S. forced the Assembly to re-endorse the already obsolete Baruch-inspired UN plan Washington needed a moral compensation for the loss of its monopoly. Now that the Assembly is over, proposals are going to be studied behind closed doors.

If U.S. policies at UN have been unsatisfactory, the way they were expressed was even less attractive. American speeches have neither the vitriolic humor of Slav interventions, nor the irony of the British and French, nor the temperamental earnestness of Latins and Orientals. And when they unfold against a background of jimcrowism and attempts at thought control, the effect is even more embarrassing.

POLITICS

NEW YORK

Haunted by ALP

OLD-PARTY politicos in New York have for years been haunted by the specter of three-cornered contests in which a progressive may win. The ghost has never been laid. In the Bronx, the Republicans have become a captive party, beholden to Democratic boss Ed Flynn for patronage and even for existence. In 1948 they got some extra charity: two State Senate seats which the Democrats preferred to give them rather than see the American Labor Party win in three-way races. Stalwart Democrats helped elect Republicans Paul Fino and Charles Scanlan from the 27th and 28th senatorial districts.

Looking to the 1950 elections, loyal Democrats by last week had come to rue the deal. The Republican margin in the State Senate is only six votes. Democrats saw a real likelihood of picking up three upstate seats, causing a 28-28 deadlock. They could control the Senate if they could also win the two Bronx seats which they charitably gave away in 1948.

HOME TO ROOST: Republicans were scared stiff. Democrats were unhappy, too, about the implication of three-way races in 1950. The ALP, always a threat, might upset the old party applecart altogether and become the balance of power in the state's Upper House.

Democrats were still looking for a way of making a deal to undo a deal. In his headquarters on the upper East Side, filled as usual with simple citizens coming in procession for a chat about their daily problems, ALP leader Vito Marcantonio chuckled.

POLITICIANS

Who doubts Tom?

"TWICE bitten, twice shy" may have been a thought in Thomas E. Dewey's head last week, but he was coy as usual. The N.Y. Governor, twice-beaten Republican Presidential nominee, was beset by the question: "Are you now or will you in the future be a candidate?"

Dewey aroused speculation by appointing close advisers to jobs outside his political circle; he was also scheduled to lecture at Princeton, which seemed to put him in the "elder statesman" category with Herbert Hoover. The N.Y. Times said any Dewey comeback "would be aimed at 1956 or 1960."

Dewey termed the report "just as untruthful as usual," said he wouldn't run for President again. People recalled other non-candidates and wondered.

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS
They're really nice boys

PAT FOR WITCH-HUNTERS: On Christmas Day the House Committee on Un-American Activities received warm praise from two former critics, both leading members of Americans for Democratic Action. Reps. Helen Gahagan Douglas and Chet Holifield of California, who fought in 1948 to abolish the committee, said it did a "better job" in 1949 than ever before. (Activities which drew this commendation included an effort to "examine" school textbooks, smears of scientists and labor leaders, investigations of Negro loyalty.)

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Yours for a million readers . . . It'll come true if you send new subs in.

THE WORLD

WORDS FOR 1950

Talking peace

MANY strange and interesting things are said as the world passes from one year into the next. Some of them are ordinary and dull, others revealing, still others downright startling.

Last week David Lawrence, editor of **U.S. News & World Report**, wrote:

"When shall we begin spiritual reconstruction? When shall we start cleansing our souls of the sin of Hiroshima and the sin of indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations in Germany? . . . We are today the nation that flaunts the atom bombs of a new militarism. . . . The hymns of hate that poured out of America on the occasion of the Stalin birthday celebration in Moscow dramatized how lacking we are in an understanding of the nationalism and intense patriotism of other peoples. . . . True, the Russians have self-serving leaders. But who are we to cast the first stone?"

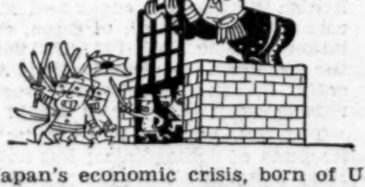
SHINWELL'S WORDS: In Newcastle, England, War Minister Emanuel Shinwell told a miners' meeting: "It is time for the great powers . . . to get together and say: 'Whatever happens, we are going to settle our disputes by arbitration and peaceful means, and let's have no more nonsense.' . . . That country (Russia) with its wonderful war record and wonderful natural resources—a socialist country—ought to be prepared to . . . work out the possibility of a lasting and enduring peace. We must revive the old slogan, 'No more war.'"

JAPAN — CHINA

Recognize or die

IN front of the Central Station in Tokyo, five leaders of the Japanese Teachers Union were publicly starving last week. A block away, five post-office clerks were doing the same. Unable to strike or bargain collectively, Japanese government workers (including railwaymen, teachers, utility workers) staged hunger strikes to protest the cut in their traditional year-end bonus. They got $8.12 to $9.80—less than half of what the unions demanded and even less than the amounts recommended by the government's own National Personnel Board.

While Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters announced a "Christmas amnesty" releasing about 50 top Japanese war criminals, the government learned that the general had rejected its demand for a slight increase in the tiny food ration and that the price of rice would go up 10%.



Japan's economic crisis, born of U.S. occupation policies, reflected two events vital to Japan's future: establishment of Communist China and devaluation of the pound sterling.

JAPAN NEEDS CHINA: The victory of the Chinese people had dealt a lethal blow to U.S. plans to build up Japan as a junior imperial power. Without its colonies, Japan lacks the industrial and military power for this role. Without strong economic ties to the New China, it can live only on a U.S. subsidy since the bulk of its trade has traditionally been with China.

Since 1945, U.S. taxpayers have paid more than $1,500,000,000 to subsidize Japan's trade deficit. In 1949 alone this deficit came to almost $500,000,000, more than double what it had been in 1946. In 1950 the trade deficit may be even bigger, because U.S. policy blocks trade with the New China and sterling devaluation has cost Japan its textile markets.

In 1948, almost half of total Japanese exports and 77% of textile exports went to the sterling orbit in Southeast Asia. But only 10% of its imports came from there. Devaluation practically eliminat-

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ed this market for Japan, for the Japanese yen is backed by the U.S. dollar and textiles from devalued India became cheaper. Japan's postwar attempt to capture the British and Indian textile markets was powered by the U.S., which sold raw cotton to Japan and virtually took over its textile industry.

CRISIS BREEDS ACTION: Japan's growing trade crisis has brought widespread demands, even from Japanese rightists, for trade with New China. The movement is led by the Sino-Japanese Trade Promotion Association, supported by both businessmen and unions.

In the face of hard economic reality, recognition of New China by most of the western world seemed imminent. India broke the ice for the British Commonwealth, recognizing Communist China at week's end. From Hong Kong the New York **Herald Tribune** reported "frantic preparations on all sides for Britain's recognition of China's new Communist-dominated government." In California's Long Beach's two daily papers called for recognition and unrestricted trade. One predicted "a big future in trade between California and China despite all pessimism to the contrary."

But a new U.S. course, aimed at converting Formosa into another Greece as the first step of a "positive" Far East policy, was reported in the making. Under this plan the U.S. would send military and civilian advisers to Formosa to help hold the island. Also envisaged were methods to strengthen the French hand in Viet-Nam and the extension of economic aid in Southeast Asia.

THE MACARTHUR SHIFT: The plan was being worked out by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It ran counter to earlier notions that Formosa was not of vital strategic importance to the U.S. But MacArthur fought against letting Formosa go. Two top military experts visited him early in December. After their return, the Joint Chiefs began to work out the new policy, which has been presented to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He is expected to outline it soon in a major speech.

A meeting of the National Security Council at the week-end, presided over by the President himself, was accompanied by a Navy announcement that the Western Pacific fleet will be promptly reinforced by the aircraft carrier Boxer and two destroyers.

BACTERIA: In Khabarovsk, Siberia, a Soviet military tribunal was trying 12 former Japanese army men accused of preparing and using bacteriological warfare. Eleven admitted guilt; one testified that Japan's secret Unit 731 had tried out lethal germs against U.S. troops "to ascertain the degree of vulnerability" of the U.S. Army to combat infection.

WEST INDIES

Earl vs. barons

REPORT
REPORT
REPORT
REPORT

EARL Baldwin, governor of Britain's Leeward Islands in the West Indies, is a political rebel. As plain Oliver Baldwin, son of former Tory Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, he kicked over the traces years ago and became a Labor man. As representative of His Brittanic Majesty in Britain's small sugar islands he is a source of embarrassment to H.B.M.'s Labor government.

A year ago London summoned the earl "for consultation" after he had sided with West Indian workers against British sugar barons. He said then: "If I am sacked, the whole of the B.W.I. will blow up. There will be real trouble." He wasn't sacked.

HE'S AT IT AGAIN: The B.W.I. didn't blow up, but the embarrasing earl did—for the second time—on Dec. 13. Making his "speech from the throne" in the Legislature, he said the government's Colonial Development Corporation would be better named "Colonial Investment Corporation": "It has done nothing in the way of development so far."

Two commissions appointed to investigate the sugar industry in Antigua, and St. Kitts had made reports. European members opposed nationalization; West Indian members favored it. The earl himself said he wanted the people to decide. The sugar barons were infuriated.

The reports mght have remained unembarrassingly buried in London's Colonial Office had not the embarrassing earl spoken up.

RELIGION

ROME

Holy but rough

ROME police were ordered to let nothing interfere with the Holy Year inauguration. The cries of landless, jobless farmers (whom the press called "communists") for land and work at a meeting called at Rome's Colosseum would have coincided with Pope Pius XII's opening ceremonies at St. Peters. Police forbade the meeting.

A substitute meeting, set for Rome's Chamber of Labor because it did not require a police permit, was met with the greatest display of police force since the days of Mussolini. Anyone venturing past the police was clubbed. More than 400 people were arrested. Villages within a wide radius were occupied by carabinieri to prevent farmers from attending. Those who eluded the carabinieri were turned back at roadblocks or dragged off trains.

Roman workers called a general strike to win the release of those under arrest. They went back to work when police assured Giuseppe di Vittorio, leader of Italy's left-wing unionists, that Holy Year victims would be released during the day. They were.

It was the day before Christmas.

THEY DON'T LIKE FRANCO: Two prominent foreign diplomats watched Pope Pius knock at the Holy Door of St. Peter's. One was Myron C. Taylor, President Truman's personal representative. The other was Martin Artajo, Spanish dictator Franco's foreign minister. Artajo was seeking a Concordat between Pius and Franco, whose Vatican relations could hardly be closer but whose shaky position would be strengthened by Pius' signature on the dotted line.

Taking a dim view of Artajo, Italian workers overturned his limousine and threw stones at the Spanish Embassy. But the Pope's welcome indicated Vatican support of the Spanish "Catholic Action" group, of which he is nominal head. Since Spanish banker Andre Moreno's failure last spring to interest the State Dept. in lending Franco $2,000,000,000, Catholic Actioneers—to curry U.S. favor—have been trying to stir up a palace revolt against the fascist Falange party, which controls the Spanish economy.

Artajo also hoped for re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Italy and Spain, broken three years ago when Italy tried to get into the UN. The Spanish ambassador, reasoning that "Italy had not acted spontaneously," never left Rome.

NO SALE: On Christmas Day, Pius asked Protestants to "return" to the Holy Roman Church. Jews, he suggested, should stop "vainly" awaiting the coming of the Messiah, and join likewise in a Christian "front" against communism.

The Archbishop of Canterbury replied for Anglicans: "I assume this means that all churches must become Catholic; if so, it's an old story." He added that from previous rejections of such invitations, "our attitude is plain." In New York Rabbi Louis L. Newman said that Jews felt the Pope used "a regrettable approach."

Searsky

A CATALOG along the lines of the U.S. Sears Roebuck classic has been issued by a Soviet mail order house with branches in Moscow, Rostov, Tashkent, the Urals and Siberia. It lists clothing, cosmetics, stationery, toys, phonograph records, radios, etc. Delivery COD anywhere in the Soviet Union.

This is Jamaica, B.W.I.

Bustamante's two-faced rule runs into stormy weather

By Oliver Kirkpatrick

AMERICANS are well acquainted with the demagogue's game of playing black people against white to hold all the people back. In Jamaica, British West Indian sugar and banana colony 90 miles south of Cuba, (population 1,125,000, with 15,000 whites), the same game is played a little differently: by stirring artificial race hatreds between brown and black.

The U.S. has produced more than its quota of demagogues; but not even Huey Long in all his glory could surpass Alexander Bustamante, ex-usurer and self-styled "Prime Minister of Jamaica," who enlisted the island's country folk by fantastic promises and appeals to the same animosities used by the British to keep the colony in subjection.

Fighting for his life in the elections last month, Bustamante managed to win 17 of the 32 seats in the House of Representatives and maintain legislative control for his misnamed Labor Party. His cousin Norman Manley, former Rhodes scholar and the West Indies' leading barrister, more than doubled the representation of his People's National Party (Socialist), adding eight to the five seats previously held.

COLOR LINES: Here is the background: up to less than 30 years ago social privileges and civil service posts were accorded to brown Jamaicans, witheld from black Jamaicans. Considering themselves superior, brown Jamaicans earned the bitter animosity of the more than 70% of islanders who are pure Negro. In 1944, when universal adult suffrage was introduced, the 70% took their revenge: they voted for Bustamante's "Jamaica for Black Jamaicans" and against Manley's People's National Party, whose leadership was mostly brown.

Such deep antagonisms are not easily erased. The close contest of last month is partially the result of untiring education carried on by the P.N.P. since 1938 when, with the help of Sir Stafford Cripps who was then in Jamaica, the party came into being based on and committed to the principles of Fabian socialism.

FAMILIAR SAGA: The new constitution of 1944, including the adult suffrage provision, was pried from the British government through persistent efforts of the Socialist intellectuals and an enlightened working class composing the P.N.P. Bustamante, ever since he achieved notoriety with a sitdown strike of his longshoremen's union in 1937 which set off rioting, looting, death and a Royal Commission of inquiry, has pursued the course of force and violence in his megalomaniac desire for power.

Bustamante took over the longshoremen's union from an honest and sincere union organizer who, for nearly a lifetime, had sought to bring strength through unity to the worker. He ousted the man, named himself president for life and spent the union dues lavishly without accounting for them.

ALEXANDER BUSTAMANTE
Huey Long was a piker

Since then he has expanded from the longshoremen to domestic workers, banana and cane field workers—for the most part unlettered people. He runs his aggregation of unions under the name of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Unions in a high-handed and dictatorial manner. In 1944 he was swept into power with an overwhelming 22 seats in the House. This was achieved after the Jamaica Democratic Party—a group of capitalists who abhorred Manley's socialism but had failed to gain any significant support for their cause—threw their votes and money to the Labor Party.

13 JUST MEN: For the past five years Jamaica has been run by the whim of this reactionary charlatan. Bustamante dictates to his party members how they shall vote on every issue before the House, expels those who disobey him, and spends most of his evenings in night clubs with the very business men he vilifies to his followers during the day.

The presence in the newly-elected House of 13 P.N.P. members, including Norman Manley, will provide an important curb on the wild, hit-or-miss government with which Jamaica has been saddled. They are men of integrity and social and political understanding, with a program based on a sound economic approach to the needs of the island.

The active and critical opposition of this powerful minority might very well bring about the fall of Bustamante's government before the next five years have passed. Jamaica's problem—mass poverty—has steadily deepened since devaluation of the pound. In November the price of bread rose 20%.

OLIVER KIRKPATRICK is a Jamaican now resident in New York.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

January appliance bargains

THIS month most appliance and department stores have clearances of household appliances. Sometimes called "floor samples"—a device to unload goods in the slow after-Christmas season without reducing list prices—these are often completely fresh stock. January clearances also include various models discontinued by manufacturers—sometimes, not always, good buys.

The opportunity to pick up bargains in appliances may be the last for a while. Many manufacturers are now contemplating price increases because of the steel price-hike, according to **Retailing,** home furnishings industry trade paper.

Buying an iron

One discontinued item stores around the country are currently featuring is the **Eureka** cordless iron (heated by a stand to which the cord is attached). The clearance ads tell you the iron was "made to sell for $17.95" and is now offered for about $6. At $6 it is fairly good value; what the ads don't tell you is that the public was not enough interested in a cordless iron to pay the high original price, and the manufacturer quit making them.

Generally in buying an iron, you'll find best values among the private brands of big mail-order houses like Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward. Two other highly-regarded makes are **Proctor** and **Knapp-Monarch.** These list-price for more than the private brands, but are available at discount houses generally at 20% off; some may also be found in the current January clearances.

Always make sure an iron has the "UL" label showing it has passed Underwriters Laboratories' safety tests. Irons on the market range from 660- to 1,000-watt capacity; most experts recommend 1,000-watt irons because they heat up rapidly, and the higher heat makes for easier ironing. In weight, most women find the four-pound irons easy to handle. Heavier irons are popularly considered to iron more neatly, but a combination of proper heat and enough moisture in things being ironed is as efficient as weight.

VACUUM CLEANERS: Excellent buys in cleaners are available in some of the clearances. One brand featured in many post-Christmas sales is a 500-watt **Royal** tank-type with attachments for $35—a good-quality machine that formerly sold for $60.

On closeouts and clearance items such as the cordless iron and the **Royal** cleaner, make sure you still get a service and parts guarantee.

Washers: dollars and sense

Few cut prices on automatic washing machines have shown up so far in the post-Christmas sales. Unless you do happen across a clearance of automatics, or can get a discount on one of the so-called well-known makes, you'll find best values in washers sold by the large retailers under their own brand names. In completely automatic washers, two of the best buys are the Sears Roebuck **Kenmore,** and the **AMC** sold by a syndicate of dept. stores including Bloomingdale and A&S in New York; Filene's, Hudson's, Detroit; Bullock's, Los Angeles; Horne's, Pittsburgh. The **AMC** is also sold under the name of **Coronado** by the Gamble-Skogmo chain stores.

Both the **Kenmore** and **AMC** cost a little under $250. An even more reasonably-priced machine with good cleaning power is the **Thor.** It lists at about $200, but is available at discount houses for $160 or less. It's considered "semi-automatic," but the only difference is that you have to turn a dial to change from washing to rinsing operations.

There are more sales on wringer-type washers than on automatics. Wringer-types rate high in cleaning ability, cost less, but take more time and labor to do the wash since each piece must be fed into the rollers individually. However, in some cases a wringer-type is the wiser choice, particularly in homes where water-pressure is normally low or hot-water supply is limited. The automatics require an abundant supply of hot water.

"So THAT'S what happened to this week's GUARDIAN!"

Green flags of peace

Shostakovich oratorio, 'Song of the Forests', has its premiere

By Ralph Parker

MOSCOW

THE new oratorio by Dmitri Shostakovich, whose "purge" was prematurely announced in the west after recent Soviet criticism of his work, had its first performance in Moscow Conservatory's large hall in a series of concerts offering the first real chance to judge by results the Central Committee's policy on music.

I have never seen the hall so full and in so excited a mood. Every notable in contemporary Moscow musical life seemed to be there, including Prokofiev and Muradeli. Everyone was given a questionnaire to fill in later at home.

DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH

The ovation lasted 10 minutes

When sending in comments, we were asked to state whether we wanted to attend a general meeting where anyone who wanted could talk.

Assembled for the performance were the State Symphony Orchestra conducted by Eugene Mravinsky of Leningrad, a mixed choir of about 100 voices, and a treble choir of boys trained by choirmaster Sveshnikov.

PEACE IS GREEN: The oratorio **Song of the Forests,** with words by E. Dolmatovsky, is inpired by Stalin's plan of afforestation under which thousands of miles of green belts are being planted to break the arid winds blowing from the east across southwest U.S.S.R.

It opens felicitously, expectantly, as a bass voice sings of green flags of peace replacing the red flags of war. In a section in faster tempo, motives drawn from traditional Russian songs are intervowen in ingenious counterpoint. After a reflective passage in which the soloist sings of past droughts and years of famine, Shostakovich introduces his boy choristers—a faint trumpet call and the rattle of a kettledrum conjuring pictures of Pioneer groups collecting seeds, spending part of their holidays planting saplings and shrubs.

For this listener it brought back vividly the days when ten- and 11-year-old Soviet schoolgirls called to remind him they had a use for his apple pips, leaving him with a collection of matchboxes marked for appropriate species.

AS POPULAR AS HANDEL: The fifth part is a rousing chorus; then comes a lyrical section looking ahead to walks under the trees yet to grow; finally the great fugal chorus "Slava" (Glory), opened by treble and soprano voices and then taken up by the whole choir. In this section Shostakovich's art in writing choral music has reached its zenith.

The oratorio is popular in the sense that Handel's are, or Glinka's great closing chorus to **Ivan Soussanin,** but Shostakovich has neither changed his style nor lowered his standards. There is little of the darkness of the Seventh (Leningrad) Symphony—a study of the tense, bitter struggle between good and evil—which was first performed eight years ago during a Moscow air raid. Brightness and hope prevail, as they do in most of the new Soviet works.

The composer, modest and retiring as always, came back again and again for the audience's tributes during a ten-minute ovation.

MASS APPRECIATION: Convinced that it is their right to share fully in the country's cultural life, rejecting the theory of one culture for the masses and another for the highbrow, conscious of the efforts they are themselves making to raise their cultural standards, the Soviet people are the sharpest critics of any tendency to give them trivial works.

Instead of speculating whether Central Committee cultural decrees have lowered the standards of writers, composers and painters who had divorced themselves from the general public, critics of the U.S.S.R. might do better to note the rapid rise in the taste of the masses. The people's response to any efforts by such artists to communicate with them in clear but not vulgarized terms has already reinforced that essential link between artist and public which was in danger of being broken.

How to start the mid-century right

THE Twelve Days of Christmas will mean the most to us at the GUARDIAN if we can hear from you. Not twelve ladies dancing, please, nor 'leven lords a-leaping, nor any of the extravagances of the popular carol.

What we hope for most, to start the mid-century right, is your earnest resolve to bring the GUARDIAN to the attention of your friends and associates who are as strong for peace and progress as you are.

If you will rescue the GUARDIAN's holiday letter to all subscribers from among your greeting cards, you'll find a modest fistful of postpaid subscription cards to start on. If you can't find the letter, didn't get one, (or if you've already used all the cards!)—start out on the coupon below.

And if you are a subscriber who (1) hasn't renewed, or (2) have not paid your bill, this is the season for it—and the GUARDIAN can certainly use the money!

'I hereby highly resolve—

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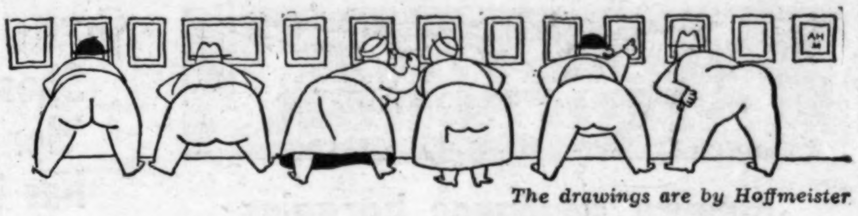
Meet Adolf Hoffmeister

The ambassador at the drawing board



The drawings are by Hoffmeister

By Ella Winter

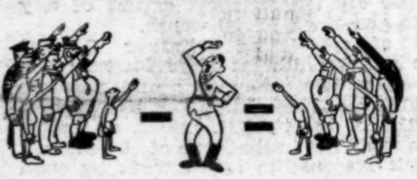
LAKE SUCCESS

MY question was: "Why do the new democracies of eastern Europe choose artists and writers as representatives abroad?" Adolf Hoffmeister smiled as he replied: "Our intellectuals and writers were usually leftists, you see."

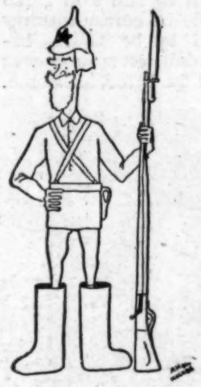
I was talking to the dark-haired, cheerful-faced Czechoslovak UN delegate on the eve of his departure for Paris, where he has been his country's ambassador since 1947. "The career diplomat is not one we could use well today," he said. "He's too cut and dried, conservative, brought up in old-fashioned conceptions. It's hard on the artist in us, but it's important, isn't it?"

CULTURED DIPLOMACY: I had known this genial and brilliant caricaturist since his 1943 Museum of Modern Art show, which was attended by the late President Benes. Hoffmeister worked in the U.S. Office of War Information; on his return to his homeland after liberation he became Minister of Culture, then UNESCO representative.

He is one of many cultured envoys from eastern Europe. The present Czech ambassador to China is F. C. Weiskopf, well-known novelist who lived in the U.S. for years and served for a time in Washington after February, 1948. Ambassador to the U.S. now is ex-professor Vladimir Outrata. Minister to Rome is a gynecologist, to Bucharest a film director. Poets and writers represent the Czech people in Bulgaria, Switzerland, Hungary. They may be devout Catholics, as is the cultural attache in London.



THE INCISIVE ARTIST: Hoffmeister is the author of some 300 works.



G. B. SHAW

His latest volume of caricatures is soon to be re-issued in four languages with introductions by Louis Aragon, Pablo Neruda, Ilya Ehrenbourg and possibly Charles Chaplin. The portraits ingeniously catch in simple lines the essence of such diverse characters as James Joyce, G. B. Shaw, Stalin, Dali, Lytton Strachey, Andre Malraux, Pablo Picasso and Hitler, and include a whole gallery devoted to Czechoslovakia's first President, Masaryk, who was Hoffmeister's close friend.

As a writer, Hoffmeister tried everything—novels, poetry, plays, humor—and "now concentrates on a kind of literary, funny reportage, writing ungrammatically." An example is **The Animals Are in Cages** which appeared in the U.S. during the war and told the plight of a "good soldier Schweik" trying to escape the Gestapo, his clashes with idiotic or terrifying bureaucracy and his final delight upon arrival in a a free and safe America.

ONCE IT WAS BETTER: "But," I began, "in view of the attacks on 'warmongering, imperialist' states——"

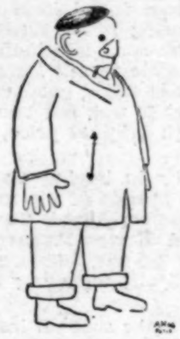
"That's how it was then," Hoffmeister said.

How did he escape the Gestapo? "I was lucky. I had an invitation to an exhibition of mine in Paris. I took the invitation and the Gestapo gave me a visa. It was three days after they took over in Prague, and they still wanted to act correctly." His children's opera, **Brungibar,** was first produced in Theresienstadt concentration camp by world-famous actors and musicians, "all of whom are now dead—except one sparrow."

The Paris Embassy is full of paintings. Hoffmeister has a pretty actress wife and a small son "who runs the Embassy." World-renowned artists, writers and poets gather for talk-fests far into the night. Picasso jumps up and down, never still, as he discourses on "Soviet realism."

Such Latin-Quarter-like scenes in an august diplomatic mansion seem perfectly natural to representatives of a country where artists, as patrons of villages and factories, arrange exhibits, give concerts, lectures, readings and plays; and where "our poorest peasants will take part in cultural life . . . We run many competitions with money prizes for artists; they can make a living easily without state support."

SUCH MEN VALUE PEACE: How did the artist, as a diplomat, feel about the recent UN Assembly session? All Slav representatives agreed, he said, that the mechanical cold-war voting lines had hardened, and that many nations "talked disarmament while cynically arming; they don't even make a pretense now." He pointed to the wild exaggerations about his country in the U.S. press which has refused to print the Czech side of the story.



PABLO PICASSO

But Hoffmeister does not lose his good humor or his world view. His gayety, friendliness and frankness won the artist a host of friends during his exile in the U.S.; the diplomat has not lost them. His imagination, cultivated mind and contacts with many kinds of human beings make him the kind of person to talk about world peace: such men appreciate and deeply care about the cost.

Such men cannot cynically blow up a world. With more of them representing us, the cold war might freeze up and die.

Science & people

Things Yule want to know

By Prof. J. B. S. Haldane

LONDON

THREE important dates fall within a fortnight at this time of year: the shortest day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day. In most countries there has long been some festival about this time, when the days start getting longer; naturally, the further north people lived, the more important was the date. So Yule was a festival among our ancestors long before they became Christians, and it suited them very well when the church decided to celebrate Jesus' birth on Dec. 25.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION: It is curious that 2,000 or 3,000 years ago people knew enough to fix the date of the shortest day. It could be determined because it was regular.

Science began with the observation of regular events—the movements of sun, moon and stars.

Unfortunately, this science got mixed up with religion in a way which did harm to both. Some people thought the sun, moon and planets were gods and worshipped them. Others thought they were somehow nearer to the supreme God and more completely controlled by him than things on earth. This was bad for science because it meant that particular theories about the heavenly bodies had a religious sanction and it was dangerous to question them. It was also bad for religion because people attributed a special holiness to those features of the world which were most mechanical.

THE HUMAN LAGS: In Europe, the coldest day usually comes well after the shortest day, and the hottest well after the longest, because the radiation of heat and light is a quick process but the conduction of heat is a very slow one.

Such lags are, of course, very common, and occur in human affairs as well as in weather. Sometimes the reason is obvious: the birth rate, for example, begins to rise nine months after a demobilization. Sometimes it is not so obvious. For instance, it takes a year or so before an economic depression has much effect on the marriage rate, which certainly follows economic conditions in a good Marxist way. But it takes some time to do so.

It is perhaps a good sign that the lag has become distinctly shorter in the last 60 years, for this shows that people are becoming aware of economic changes more rapidly than their grandparents did.

•

Start the New Year right. Fill out the subscription blank on page 11 for five of your friends for '50. Don't lag!

It is a very lively corpse

A day in the life of a progressive

They said Harry Truman and his fine Fair Deal killed the Progressive Party in 1948. How dead is it at the end of 1949? An answer comes from St. Louis, Mo., from Kit Shryver, Progressive Party state director. It's a condensed diary of a typical day's work in her own words:

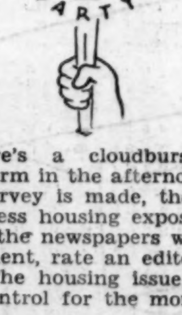
MONDAY, 10 a.m. First thing is a complaint: Why weren't we here at 9?

Three people drop in: Has the GUARDIAN arrived yet? No. But while you're here, how about a hand with this mailing? No. 1 can't: has to take the wash to the laundromat. No. 2 can't: too tired from the night shift. No. 3 can: works for a fast hour.

We line up the day's work: to organize a long-range fund drive. We get a fair start when a solid citizen calls. He wants information on hate-merchant Gerald L. K. Smith who now headquarters in our town. We are delighted to fill him in.

BACK to the planning. News comes in that the State Senate has killed the bill to admit Negroes to state universities. The House had passed it 108 to 6. We check around, find it's not hopeless. But who will battle for it in the next session? We settle that; it will be another progressive organization. The PP will back the fight. It's lunch time.

Calls come in, from all sorts of people. Bothering them is a landlord organization's ad in today's paper urging owners to list their properties as "not for rent under rent control." This is for immediate action; we're fond of rent control. We get our housing people. How fast can we raise money for a counter-ad? A statement to the press. A survey of the places advertised.



There's a cloudburst and hailstorm in the afternoon, but the survey is made, the claim of excess housing exposed. We make the newspapers with our statement, rate an editorial in one. The housing issue is under control for the moment.

IT'S evening now. News comes in that two of our members have been fired by a public utility which has found a new way to rid itself of Negro workers. The union won't be of much help in this. It will take a citizen's committee.

Then there's a must that can't be put off: a needle for the pension office for Mrs. Crabtree's delayed check.

The chairman of the 19th Ward comes in. He needs a mimeographing job for the paper his club issues. And he's got a new problem: a fire in his block killed two children.

Finally back to the long-range planning job. But it's 10 p.m. already. Well, we'll work an hour more anyway. During the afternoon the GUARDIAN came in. We'll read that on the way home. And tomorrow we'd better get in at 9.

RAY C THOMAS 1-50
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